# Military, Chaplains' Review

#### Twentieth Anniversary Edition 1972-1992

Introduction to the Winter Issue

The Vision of Father John; First Editor Evolution of the Military Chaplains' Review

Voices from the Past

I am the Chaplaincy (Fall 1983)
What Does the Commander Expect from the Chaplain? (Fall 1977)

Contemporary and Future Issues

The Chaplaincy Service Support Agency Ministry to Muslim Converts After Desert Storm Changing Corps in Midstream Religious Programming in AFRTS

#### **Historical Issues**

Chaplain M.L. Haney and the Congressional Medal of Honor On Foreign Soil; The Tragedy of a Civilianized Chaplaincy Chaplains' Ministry at Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941 For God and Country: The Constitutional Question of the U.S. Army Chaplaincy

#### Poetry

"God Save the Regiment"
"Welcome Family of the New Millennium"

William T. Barbee Marcelline J. St. Pierre

Robert L. Gushwa Quay C. Snyder

Richard A. Whitesel

Granville E. Tyson

Thomas R. Smith Robert L. Flaherty Norman F. Brown Richard W. Davenport

> John W. Brinsfield Charles W. Hedrick David Chambers

> > Gregory Darr

Professional Bulletin of the U.S. Army Chaplain Corps

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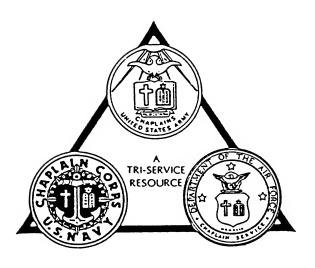
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Secretary of the Army

# Military, Chaplains' Review

Winter 1992





#### Military Chaplains' Review

Professional Bulletin of the US Army Chaplain Corps

#### **Chief of Chaplains**

Chaplain (MG) Matthew A. Zimmerman

US Army Chaplaincy Service Support Agency Chaplain (COL) Thomas R. Smith, Deputy Director

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The Military Chaplain's Review (ISSN 0360-9693) is published quarterly for the Chief of Chaplains by the US Army Chaplaincy Services Support Agency, 1730 K St. NW, Washington, D.C., 20006-3868. This professional bulletin for all Army, Navy and Air Force chaplains is a medium for those interested in the military chaplaincy to share the product of their experience and research. We welcome articles which are directly concerned with supporting and strengthening chaplains professionally. Preference will be given to articles having value as reference material.

Articles should be submitted in duplicate, double spaced, to the editor, *Military Chaplains Review*, United States Army Chaplaincy Services Support Agency, Riddell Bldg., Suite 401, 1730 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006-3868. Articles should be 12 to 20 pages long; and when appropriate, carefully documented. Detailed editorial guidelines are available from the editor.

Articles appearing in this publication reflect the views of the authors and should not be interpreted as reflecting the official opinion of the Department of the Army nor of any branch, command or agency of the Department of the Army.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices.

Postmaster: Send address changes to *Military Chaplains' Review*, Riddell Bldg., Suite 401, 1730 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006-3868.

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#### Introduction to the 20th Anniversary Issue

In this issue, we look back twenty years and six editors and celebrate this journal's coming of age. It had inauspicious beginnings as many projects do when launched from no more than a vision. Yet it was an idea whose time had come, and gradually this journal evolved from a minor DA Pamphlet to an important resource to military chaplains world-wide. In Evolution of the Military Chaplain's Review, we look back at the beginnings, and then to the future of this journal. An interview with the founder, Chaplain John Hoogland gives a glimpse of its birth pangs. Two articles are excerpted from past issues, I am the Chaplaincy by Robert Gushwa, and What does the Commander Expect from the Chaplain, by Quay Snyder. These are well done, and have been favorites over the years.

We have a gold mine of historical articles. For the first time, the complete history of the court case of the constitutionality question of the Army chaplaincy is described. Former chaplain assistant **Greg Darr** has done a marvelous job on this article. **Chaplain John Brinsfield**, tells us the wondrous story of Chaplain M. L. Haney, commander and medal of honor winner in the Civil War. **Chaplain Charles Hedrick** writes of the disaster of a civilianized chaplaincy which we had at one point during the Mexican War. It is a sad story.

On a more dramatic note, retired Navy Chaplain David Chambers gives us a blow-by-blow account of the attack on Pearl Harbor, and how the chaplains acquitted themselves.

Enjoy the fruits of twenty years of our labors!

**Editor** 

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#### The Vision of Father John: First Editor

#### Richard A. Whitesel

A conversation with CH (COL) John Hoogland, USA (RET.), the first editor of the "Military Chaplains" Review."

To get this interview we had to catch up with the founding editor of the *Military Chaplains' Review* at the beginning of January in a motel lobby in Chicago. Chaplain Hoogland, the former President of the Chaplains' Board, may be retired from the Army, but he continues to be actively involved in ministry.

In this interview Chaplain Hoogland recounts the events surrounding the beginnings of the *Military Chaplains' Review* 20-years ago.

MCR: Chaplain Hoogland, how did you become involved with the Military Chaplains' Review?

*Hoogland:* I came back from Vietnam in 1967 and was assigned to Fort Hood, Texas, as chaplain for the 1st Brigade, 1st Armored Division.

I had come back with three other chaplains. We were all assigned to Fort Hood. Three years later we were all expecting orders for a second year in Vietnam. That's the way it was in those days.

However, when I opened my orders it did not say Vietnam, as theirs' did. I was assigned to the University of Wisconsin and directed to study journalism.

Someone at branch told me, "When you get done with this year you will go back to Vietnam. After that tour, you will be sent to the Chaplains' School to teach speaking and writing."

MCR: How did it actually work out?

Hoogland: You know the personnel system. It gets all messed up. At least,

Chaplain (CPT) Richard A. Whitesel is currently a student at Wheaton College studying Journalism and Communications. He is endorsed by the ELCA (Evangelical Lutheran Church of America) and recently returned from an assignment in Germany.

that is what everyone told me when I was the Director of Personnel for the Chief of Chaplains.

At the end of my year at the University of Wisconsin I again received orders. I expected to read that I was going to Vietnam. Once again, it did not say Vietnam. I was ordered to report to something called "The United States Army Chaplains' Board" at Fort Mead.

"Chaplains' Board." I thought, "What is that?"

Finally, I remembered an occasion in the advanced course when someone came to speak to us from the Chaplains' Board. He had a big red nose. He told us about all of the good things the Chaplains' Board did for the Chaplaincy.

I remember thinking at the time, "Ah hah, I know what the Chaplains' Board is. That's the place where the Chief of Chaplains puts people who have problems and don't get along with chaplains or troops. He hides them there. He gives them piddling little things to do." That was my image.

I wondered, "What had the Chief found out about me?"

This was now June, 1971. I reported to the President of the Board, Chaplain Bertram C. Gilbert. Later Gil would serve as the Lutheran endorsing agent. But at that time, he was Chaplain (COL) Gilbert. I asked him what my job was." He said, "You are the editor of our journal."

I said, "What journal?"

Gilbert replied, "Oh that's your job. You figure that out."

MCR: What was your reaction to this?

Hoogland: I thought, "Good Grief. I am not taking over from somebody. I am supposed to start this thing."

I did not conceptually start the journal. I suspect Gilbert did that. I am pretty sure he worked out the concept for the journal with the Chief of Chaplains, Gerhardt Hyatt.

MCR: Beginning with this initial concept for the project, how did you develop the style of the journal?

Hoogland: That was the really important issue for me. "What was to be the style of the journal?"

What the Chief and his office were proposing was a newsletter of 12-15 pages. There was something like that in existence that the endorsing agents were putting out. The Chief's office wanted something like it of our own.

They wanted a lot of pictures. You know the kind of thing; the Chief visits Fort Leonard Wood. He, twenty chaplains and maybe the commanding general, have their pictures taken. That would go in the newsletter.

The intention was that our journal would be a professional resource for chaplains as well as a public relations vehicle for the Chief's office. That is one way it could have gone.

MCR: Clearly, it did not go that way. What did you do?

Hoogland: The direction I pursued was to copy the Command & General

Staff College journal, the *Military Review*. It is strictly a professional journal. There are not very many pictures, and is not a public relations vehicle.

I really pushed this idea as the way to go for the long haul. Part of my argument was, instead of calling it the *Army Chaplains' Review* was to do something new. We can include the Navy and the Air Force.

I argued, to make it the *Military Chaplains' Review*. You would have a product to give to them, as well as to Army chaplains. the advantage was that we could get articles from Navy and Air Force chaplains as well as Army.

MCR: Could you say more about this multi-service approach?

Hoogland: Is it so different being a Navy Chaplain? The kind of material that is presented in the *Military Chaplains' Review* is not strictly Army. A lot of it, for example in homiletics, it is good for Air Force and Navy chaplains as well.

I won that battle, and it was called the *Military Chaplains' Review* rather than the *Army Chaplains' Review*.

MCR: How did you get the project off of the ground?

Hoogland: First of all, getting the journal approved through the hierarchy was a major obstacle. The Chief of Chaplains would finance it. I did not have a problem with funding. But, you don't just start an official military journal.

I had to get this project through the bureaucracy in Washington, DC. At the same time, I was trying to start this journal from the editorial and production perspective as well. All of this together was a challenge.

MCR: How did you get articles?

Hoogland: We decided to hold conferences at the Chaplains' Board.

Our first issue in January 1972 was "Ministry to Blacks." We brought in six or eight experts from the universities. We contracted with these professors, from various disciplines, to come to the Chaplains' Board and present academic papers for us.

They had to read their papers. The idea was that their papers had to be good enough to put in our journal. I thought this arrangement was a good deal for everyone.

Our speakers were able to report to their universities that they had served as consultants to the United States Army Chaplaincy. Plus, they were able to publish in a professional journal. Both of these activities are important to a young professor's career progression.

For our part, we got top-rate material for the journal. Over time, that is how we did most of the articles.

In that first two years of publication, we had issues devoted to themes such as; "Ministry to Blacks," "Homiletics" and "Social Concerns."

MCR: Where there any drawbacks to this approach?

Hoogland: Only minor ones. Instead of coming with a paper to read, many spoke extemporaneously. I had to have a tape recorder there.

When you have to prepare an article from a speech it takes more time and effort than if you are given a manuscript.

In the second issue of the *Military Chaplains' Review*, for example, we featured articles which people sent to us. A lot of these articles were term papers. I was eager to get anything that I could edit and put together.

MCR: Was there pressure for you to meet a deadline?

Hoogland: You bet. I arrived at the board in July of 1971. By September, or October, the Chief's office was saying, "Where is the first issue?" Every other day they would call. I felt tremendous pressure.

The first issue came out January. It was an enormous relief to get that in the mail.

Then I thought, "Oh no, I have to come up with another one in three months."

MCR: In the earlier issues, how did you choose articles?

*Hoogland:* It would be nice if you get three articles and pick the best. That is the ideal. I was taking everything.

Anybody who sent in a term paper got published. Well, almost everything got published.

I spent my time rewriting most things. Sometimes I had to send the article back to the author, who hardly recognized what he wrote, asking him to sign off on it and get it back to me.

Those were desperate times. I do not like failure.

MCR: What was the size of your staff?

Hoogland: We really did not have a staff. I was the editor. I got to utilize the two secretaries who worked for the Board. They did not have computers in those days. Try to picture the Chaplains' Board and its' two secretaries, fully employed by all the other people assigned to the Board. Add a new person on staff who has several hundred pages to type up, all on a manual typewriter. It was not a pretty sight.

Being the editor was a half time job for me. The other half of my job was writing the "Our Moral Heritage" character guidance series. There was a lot of typing already. The journal was a brand new project which was simply added to the existing work of the Chaplains' Board.

The *Military Chaplains' Review* represented a lot of extra work for the secretaries. I felt terrible just handing my work to them. I got along with them on a personal level, but they hated to see me coming.

MCR: When did this situation improve?

Hoogland: It took a while. Chaplain Rodger Venske, the editor two years after I left the job, tells this wonderful story about the staff.

One day he got a phone call from a gentleman wanting to change his address. When the man realized that he had reached the "managing editor" himself, he apologized profusely and asked for the circulation editor. Rodger

put the man on hold, lowered his voice two octaves, and then answered the phone, "Hello. Circulation."

Later on, when I was the President of the Board, we got into the computer age. The computer is an altogether different thing. With word processing you don't care if a secretary makes a mistake. You don't have to type the whole page over. You just blip it in.

MCR: Did you ever get any outside help?

*Hoogland:* Yes. Let me tell you a secret. I had an assistant editor. Alma L. Hoogland, my wife.

Alma got a master's degree in English from Wisconsin when I was there as a journalism student.

She was reading the catalog one day and noticed that she could go to school for in-state tuition. It only cost \$300 dollars a semester at that time. She said, "John I think I'll enroll."

I have got to tell you, in those tough times, when the input was anybody's term paper, or a little paper they wrote for the Chaplains' School, her help was invaluable.

She sat home spending a lot of time editing and rewriting. Alma is a good writer. In fact, in 1972 she was the first woman to publish in the *Military Chaplains' Review*.

Alma has never gotten credit for being my Assistant Editor.

MCR: What are you doing now that you have retired from the military?

Hoogland: I am an associate pastor at Midland Park Christian Reform Church, which is our largest Christian Reform congregation east of Grand Rapids. There are three pastors. I am responsible for the Evangelism program.

MCR: What teaching responsibilities do you have?

Hoogland: I teach a pastors' class. This past Sunday we had eight professions of faith, as we call it. They had all gone through my pastor's class.

MCR: How about preaching?

Hoogland: I preach once a month at Midland. I do liturgy for the other pastors some of the time. And, I am asked to be a guest or supply preacher in local churches on a regular basis.

MCR: Sir, how would you categorize your involvement with the Military Chaplains' Review both as the editor and as the President of the Board?

Hoogland: I am proud that I was a part of the whole thing. You know, I was a pastor before I went in the Army. I loved doing that. I was a pastor to soldiers before I became the editor of the journal. I loved that too.

When I was the editor I thought of myself as a pastor to chaplains and their families. And, I loved it.

The day I left the Army I went straight into my current position as a pastor. So you see, nothing has really changed at all.

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#### Evolution of the Military Chaplains' Review

#### Granville E. Tyson

Perspective. That's the word that occurs to me as I gaze at the volumes representing twenty years of the *Military Chaplains' Review*. Twenty years of the recorded Army chaplaincy experience portray the ebb and flow of the Army *esprit*. A glance at a few issues tracks the soul of this Army since January 1972. For example, the first issue of the *Military Chaplains' Review* dealt almost completely with ministry to Blacks. The distinguished Black homilitician, Dr. Henry Mitchell, wrote an article based upon his discussion with the Army Chaplains' Board about worship in the Black tradition. The second issue dealt with drug and alcohol concerns, and other problems afflicting society and the Army at that time.

Progressing through the *Military Chaplains' Review* (MCR) from the seventies we find an issue dealing with social concerns and another on human relations and religious liberty. Ethics made an appearance in 1974, as did homiletics. Pluralism, innovations in ministry, and moral leadership were topics which reverberated through America and the Army in the turbulent seventies and were reflected in the MCR.

Some rather prominent authors appeared in these pages, such as Dr. Peter Berger, "Is America Decadent", in Summer, 1976; Frederick Pohl "the Tricentennial" in Summer, 1976, and Dr. Howard J. Clinebell who wrote on the treatment of alcoholism.

Shifts in theology echo in our journal. Articles on liberation theology, the theology of pastoral care, and death and dying were important issues in ministry, and therefore were included in the *Military Chaplains' Review*.

We devoted a complete volume to Women's Issues to usher in the eighties, and began to recognize how exclusive language causes problems.

Parish development, human relations, and the identity of the chaplaincy reflected the emphasis of the eighties on our own identities and persons. Values came under scrutiny, as did pluralism, and constitutional concerns.

Chaplain (MAJ) Granville E. Tyson is editor of the *Military Chaplains'* Review.

We devoted a whole issue to the constitution during the 1987 bicentennial of that great document.

The Army chaplaincy has always addressed ministry to families and we periodically publish articles on family ministry. In both 1988 and 1990, we devoted an entire issue to the family. With a growing awareness of the AIDS epidemic, the MCR published a complete volume on that problem from the chaplain's perspective, designed to assist him in ministry to the AIDS patient.

We examined the Unit Ministry Team in an issue which has been reprinted once and is still in demand as a training resource in the Army as well as in the Navy and Air Force.

The issue on Medical Ethics provided an excellent reference for concerns in death and dying which will live with us forever.

Operation Just Cause provided opportunity to get first-hand reports from chaplains in combat situations. Who would have thought that only two years later we would again go into combat in such a massive mobilization? The Gulf War provided opportunities for shared experiences in combat, as well as plenty of data from reserve chaplains and their particular experience in mobilization.

Over the years, chaplains have poured their knowledge, skills, and experiences into articles prized for their uniqueness. The MCR is the only professional journal for all military chaplains and has been a repository for research into chaplain related subjects. Very few journals can boast of the sheer volume of reference material.

Chaplain (LTC) Kenneth Ruppar at the Army Medical Department and School in Fort Sam Houston writes about his research experiences with the MCR:

In preparation for a presentation on spirituality for a psychic stress conference this Fall, I read Ch (LTC) Tom Mitchiner's article on "Battleproofing the Inner Person," from the July 1987 issue. I visited with him in September and came away with an even better understanding of how this program developed and operated... I think some of the best and most usable articles for training new chaplains will be the combat articles written chiefly by battalion chaplains in recent issues.

#### The Editors

Chaplain John Hoogland, now retired in New Jersey, had a vision for the journal which be brought to fruition (see article in this issue). He was followed by five more editors, Chaplain Joseph E. Galle (July 1974-Sept 1976), Chaplain Rodger R. Venzke (Oct 1976-July 1981), Chaplain Richard N. Donovan (Aug 1981-July 1984), and Chaplain William Noble (July 1984-June 1988). I will pass on this job to my successor in August 1992.

Initial distribution of the MCR was limited to active duty chaplains and some theological school libraries. Gradually as reserve chaplains heard about the journal and asked for subscriptions, the mailing list grew. The Navy came on board with their active duty chaplains in 1980, and the Air Force chaplains became readers in 1982. Both services reimburse the Army for their copies. Currently we publish more than 6300 copies quarterly to all

active duty military chaplains in the United States, Canada, and Army chaplains in Australia. We also send to theological school libraries, chaplain endorsing agencies, ecclesiastical officials and other interested persons. Reserve chaplains from all the services receive it if requested, as well as VA and retired chaplains.

The US Army Chaplains' Board, now known as the US Army Chaplaincy Services Support Agency, has always published the MCR. It was modeled on a professional army journal, and has been valued for reference material and for professional development for military chaplains.

#### The Next Twenty Years

Twenty years of the *Military Chaplains' Review* provide insight into what we've experienced in our ministry to the military. What will the next twenty years hold?

With the realignment of the Chaplaincy Services Support Agency (see related article in this issue), publisher of the MCR, some functions will be transferred to other organizations. The MCR is scheduled to be moved to the US Army Chaplain Center and School, pending formal approval from the major commands involved. A new editor will be appointed, most likely a civilian, and a new format for the journal is being planned. Yet the lifeblood of the journal is chaplains who are interested in writing to share their knowledge and experience with others.

It requires great discipline to research and write an article for publication. Chaplain Rupper suggests "supervisors at all levels encourage chaplains and chaplain assistants to write about their concerns and programs . . . Training opportunities can develop a wealth of material for articles. Chaplains attending fully-funded schooling at civilian universities or military medical centers can write of their learning, as can those senior chaplains selected to attend the Army War College." He also suggests submitting that new hymn text or poem addressing soldiers and religious support issues.

Transition is today's concern in the Army. The MCR published a Transition issue in Winter, 1991. Because of the significance of this concern in the military today, the Chief of Chaplains ordered it reprinted and mailed to each active duty chaplain with another booklet on the same subject. Doubtless, there will be additional articles published on this subject in the years ahead. The MCR is a viable medium to address concerns which impact on the chaplaincy as a whole, throughout the Department of Defense.

Is twenty years the maximum effective useful life for this professional journal, like it may be for some soldiers? Is it time to retire this journal in its particular form? Should it be resurrected to another format for a wider or narrower audience? Or has it outlived its usefulness? These are some of the questions which must be answered in this twentieth year of the MCR as it moves to another home.

Stay tuned.

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#### I Am The Chaplaincy

#### Chaplain (LTC) Robert L. Gushwa

I am the Chaplaincy. For more than two centuries I have ministered in the name of God to the armed forces of the Nation. I was born on 29 July 1775 by act of Congress. the Word of God and the Declaration of Independence are my birth certificate. Blood lines of the world run in my veins, for I offer freedom to the oppressed.

I was there from the beginning. I am William Emerson and Joseph Thaxter at Concord Bridge. I am John Martin at Bunker Hill preaching, "Be ye not afraid of them." I am John Rosbrugh, killed by enemy bayonet or sword, while kneeling in prayer for family and enemies. I am Samuel Kirkland ministering for thirty years to the Oneida Indians, and the Tuscaroras, who remained on the side of an emerging nation. I am George Duffield who helped prohibit slavery in the Northwest Territory. I am Israel Evans building the first Army chapel, "The Temple" at Newburgh.

I was there meeting the enemy face to face, will to will. I ministered to the men whose bleeding feet stained the snow at Valley Forge; my frozen hands pulled Washington across the Delaware. At Yorktown the sunlight glinted from the sword and I, begrimed the battered, saw a nation born. I am young men serving as chaplains and doubling as surgeons and unit commanders, and I am a sturdy patriot who volunteered at 73 years of age to bring the Word and Sacraments to the troops. I sacrificed for the new nation: health, homes, and possessions were lost, one of my number lost three sons, another two; ten chaplains were captured, three were killed, two wounded in battle, and eight died of other causes.

Hardship and glory I have known. I am Learner Blackman at New Orleans, with those who fought beyond the hostile hour and showed the fury of their long rifles. I visited the sick and wounded, heard their confessions, prayed with them in their fears. I am the Chaplaincy.

I am Adam Empie, chaplain at West Point, "a spot formed by nature to be the nursery of heroes."

Reprinted from the Fall, 1983 issue of the Military Chaplains' Review, pp. 89-92.

Westward I pushed the wagon trains, moved with an empire across the plains. I am Abel Barber at Fort Winnebago teaching Bible study, beginning a temperance society, establishing prayer groups, and resigning rather than conduct separate worship services for officers and enlisted men. I am Jeremiah Porter breaking the ice in the St. Mary's River at Fort Brady to baptize two soldiers and an Indian woman. I am Richard Cadle organizing a school for Indian children in 1837 at Fort Crawford.

I was with Scott at Verz Cruz, hunted the guerilla in the mountain passes, and scaled the high plateau. The fighting was done when I ended my march many miles from the old Alamo.

From Bull Run to Appomattox, I fought and bled and died. Both Blue and Grey were my colors then. Three million Americans came under my influence during four tragic years of civil strife.

I am Milton L. Haney winning the Medal of Honor for conspicious gallantry near Atlanta. I am five chaplains who were promoted to general officer rank for outstanding service. I am Michael M. Allen, a Jewish soldier elected from the ranks to be a regimental chaplain. I am Father Paul Gillen whose horse and carriage were called "a Plimpton bedstead, a cathedral, and a restaurant all combined." I am A. S. Fiske performing a marriage ceremony at which 119 couples freed from slavery were joined within an hour. I am Chaplain Quintard converting General Bragg, who with tears in his eyes said he'd wanted for twenty years for someone to speak to him that way. I am Benjamin Trumbull telling the men that the colonel had detailed him to do all the necessary swearing for the unit and to send for him if some had to be done.

I was there when the Rough Riders charged up San Juan Hill. I am Orville Nave and his wife and daughter running a special diet kitchen for four hospitals full of the sick and wounded from Cuba. I am William D. McKinnon, though painfully wounded, negotiating with the archbishop and the Spanish chief of staff for the surrender of Manila to avoid further bloodshed.

Freedom called and I answered, and stayed "till it was 'over, over there." At Chateau-Thierry, over the top, with the "Doughboys" at the rocks of the Marne; it was I who saw the Hindenburg line crack. The Argonne, Verdun; these are the things that I am, the memories still live. I left my heroic dead in Flanders Field where poppies grow. I am George McCarthy riding a French horse through artillery fire to say mass. I am Francis Duffy of New York's fighting 69th who made the ecumenical movement a reality in rain sodden trenches. I am the Chief of Chaplains leading prayers at the burial of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington.

A generation older, at Bataan, I briefly bowed as a fellow prisoner with "GI Joes," and prayed for deliverance. I am Alfred C. Oliver, who lost 100 pounds, was three times beaten into unconsciousness by the Japanese, and suffered a neck broken with a rifle butt blow. But I grew to 9,000 strong. I am the Four Immortal Chaplains on the Dorchester, one Jewish, one Catholic, and two Protestants, who gave away life belts to other men, and with arms locked went to death in the sea, but gave an example of brotherhood and sacrifice that shall never die. I am Francis Sampson staying

behind with the wounded to face certain capture. I am James H. O'Neill praying for "fair weather for battle" for Patton's tankers. Normandy, St. Lo, the Bulge, Bouganville, and islands "where uncommon valor was a common virtue" become a part of my heritage. I am Abraham Feffer, a 17 year old Jewish survivor of Dachau, who ten years after his rescue joined my ranks "to repay a debt for my life."

With the bugle's mournful "taps" just fading from my ears and heart, a new danger called me back to war. In Korea I gathered my strength around Pusan, swept across the frozen Han, outflanked the Reds at Inchon and marched to the Yalu. All too soon ended garrison duty and parish-like ministries; needed now was the flexibility to minister to front line troops in combat, to refugees, prisoners, the sick, wounded and dying, to sagging moral, and military stalemate. I am Hudson, Gilman and Hyatt. I am Arthur C. Mills getting a second Silver Star for rescuing the wounded under fire. I am Holland Hope winning an award unprecedented for a chaplain, the Combat Infantry Badge, for leading a force to rescue the wounded. I am Emil J. Kapaun, stealing food from the enemy to feed fellow prisoners, washing the underwear of those sick with dysentery, and dying among them. I am Kenneth C. Hyslop who died of mistreatment and starvation.

"The longest War" began and I returned to the jungle, this time in Viet Nam. Months of boredom punctuated by moments of stark terror; fire bases, LZ's, the flapping whir of helicopter rotors, heat and rain and bugs and smells, R&R, and flag draped coffins at Ton Son Nhut; Hue, and Phu Loi, "Nuc Mam" and "Xin Loi" became part of my long life. I am Meir Engel, the first chaplain to die in Viet Nam. And I am Charles J. Watters and Angelo J. Liteky, the only Army chaplains since the Civil War to receive the Medal of Honor. I am Carl C. Creswell reporting My Lai. I am Emil F. Kapusta, the last chaplain to leave Viet Nam.

I know you will understand if I avoid the use of words like gallantry or valor or glory. I will leave them to those who have not had to add up the ledger of violence and misery. My own heart is too full of losses. The chaplaincy was behind only the Infantry and the Air Corps in proportionate combat deaths in World War II. Ministering in war is a long, lonely, dirty job, and there is nothing glorious about killing one's fellow man, or being killed by him, or passing many, many days in hatred and misery fear. We like to say that war is cruel, but no one knows how cruel it is—how deeply, monstrously cruel—unless he has himself walked through the fire and felt it sear him. Let us remember then, they would want us to remember—if only because it may cause us to strengthen our resolve not to sow the dragon's teeth again.

The trumpet of the Lord shall never sound retreat and the challenges are ever present. Drug problems, alcoholism, racial confrontations, sexism, loneliness, education, marriage counseling, evangelism, stewardship, mission, seders and sacraments, changing morals, social upheaval, a volunteer Army...these are my ministry. I am the Chaplaincy.

From Concord Bridge to Heartbreak Ridge, from the Arctic to the Mekong, the National Guard and the Reserves from a hundred small towns...I am the Chaplaincy...always ready...then, now, and forever. I

was conceived in freedom and God willing in freedom will spend the rest of my days.

May I possess always the integrity, the courage, and the strength to keep myself unshackled, to remain a citadel of freedom and a beacon of strength to the world.

This is my wish, my goal, my prayer—208 years after my birth. I am the Chaplaincy.

## What Does the Commander Expect from the Chaplain?

Colonel Quay C. Snyder

Commanders have varied expectations of their chaplains. In an attempt to express one view of the role of a chaplain, the following mythical letter is written by a commander to his new chaplain. While the letter is oriented toward the young chaplain about to enter his first tactical unit, the salient factors are pertinent to all chaplains, regardless of experience and seniority.

#### Dear Chaplain:

Welcome to the Ninety-Ninth Battalion. A copy of Department of the Army orders assigning you to our organization arrived today. I am delighted to know that you and your family will be joining us in the near future. Our unit has been without an assigned chaplain for the past three months, since Chaplain Jones departed to attend the Chaplains' School. We truly miss him. He made a significant contribution, as I am sure you will also. Since this is your first assignment to a TO&E unit, in addition to welcoming you and expressing our joy with your new assignment, I shall try to articulate some of my philosophy on the role of a chaplain in a TO&E organization. Hopefully, it will help you understand my expectations and, perhaps, minimize any concern you may have as to your role in this organization.

Colonel Snyder is currently Director of Faculty and Student Development Programs at the United States Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA. A graduate of USMA, with a master's degree from Purdue and a doctorate from New York University, Colonel Snyder has more than twelve years' experience teaching behavioral sciences. He taught leadership at the Seventh Army NCO Academy, served two tours teaching Psychology and Leadership at West Point, and taught behavioral science subjects at the Army War College and Pennsylvania State University.

Reprinted from the Fall, 1977 issue of the Military Chaplains' Review, pp 5-9.

Each commander has (and should be able to articulate) a personal philosophy of leadership. As part of that philosophy some commanders know what they expect from the various staff members. There is a specific role for each commander and each member of his staff. One staff member's role frequently neglected by commanders is that of the chaplain. I hope I am not guilty of that neglect.

Chaplain, you are a very, very important member of this organization and a valuable asset. It is my sincere prayer that, with your help, we can continue to grow in God's grace, serve our soldiers, and improve our readiness of this organization. Your role will be a major one with challenges and, hopefully, rewarding—spiritually, professionally and personally—to you.

What are the qualifications I, as a commander, expect of a chaplain of the Ninety-Ninth? First, and most important, I expect you to be a man of God, true to your faith and willing to be a walking, daily witness of your faith. From your ORB that accompanied your orders I see that you are a member of a major denomination. I expect you to know who you are and constantly stand up for what you believe in—dedication to your faith. Along with that dedication to your personal faith, it is just as important to be tolerant of the views of others. I'm sure you, too, have seen individuals so lacking in empathy that they were not able to communicate effectively with people with dissimilar views. Their focus on a particular denominational belief blinded them to the beliefs of others. It is not necessary to agree with others, but it is important to respect their right to those beliefs—friendly cooperation without compromise. Our unit contains men and women from a variety of denominations and religions along with those who disclose no belief.

You need the ability to communicate with them and to relate to their experiences. Your knowledge of theology and human relations will help bridge the gap between the various denominations and faiths. Your ability to be empathic will strengthen that bridge for all soldiers in this organization.

Chaplain, an understanding of the mission and organization of the United States Army is essential. I expect you to rapidly become familiar with the mission, capabilities, history, and traditions of the Ninety-Ninth. We're a proud unit and are anxious to have each member aware of our traditions and history. Along with that awareness, I feel a chaplain's effectiveness is increased if he will learn as much as he is able about our weapons, aircraft, vehicles, and equipment. You will find the soldiers eager to teach you about their weapons and equipment; they will want you to drive the vehicles or to learn to fire the weapons. We need a soldiers' chaplain who is a soldier, mentally and physically tough, but compassionate and understanding.

A very important qualification is possession of a genuine concern for people (love of your fellow human beings). Along with this is the ability to relate to all members of this unit, especially to the young soldiers and their spouses. That, of course, implies that you will have the special skills needed to be an effective counselor. Constantly sharpen those skills; read a wide

range of literature; learn to use small fragmented segments of your time. To summarize, the qualifications I feel are important for a chaplain in the Ninety-Ninth to possess, are: 1) he must be a man of God—a chaplain. first; 2) he must be a warm human being; and 3) I want a chaplain who is qualified as a US Army soldier and as an officer.

With these expectations of a chaplain's qualifications you may be wondering what duties are expected of a chaplain in our unit. Again, since you are a chaplain, the primary duty must be the effective conduct of religious services. Religious services are more than just a once-weekly chapel service. I expect you to provide a full range of religious services from barracks Bible study sessions and visits in family quarters to meaningful weekend retreats. I offer my full support to assist in any way you feel it may be appropriate. Please be assured, I will not interfere or attempt to tell you how to structure any service or sermon. Chaplain, the spiritual welfare of all the soldiers and officers, regardless of their faith or conviction, is your primary duty. There are many additional ways I hope you will contribute to making the Ninety-Ninth an effective military unit and a superb team.

You will be expected to solve a variety of human problems, as well as fill spiritual needs of the men and women of our unit. I count on you as my personal advisor, counselor, and friend. I don't expect you to secure permission or to notify any one when you want to discuss anything with me. I am available day or night, at home, in the field, or at my office. You should quickly establish yourself as a confidant to all the soldiers in the unit. I respect your role, your duties, and your special relationship as a counselor and will not ask you to divulge any confidential information to me. I do want you to advise me of the practices or conditions you discover that do not contribute to a high state of readiness of the unit and favorable job satisfaction on the part of our personnel. In short, I expect you to be another set of eyes and ears without undermining the special relationship or confidence you must have with each of our soldiers. As you discover problems, help solve them—whether they are financial, marital, emotional, physical, disciplinary, or leadership problems. The best way for you and me to discover and solve problems is to get out of our offices and see what the members of the unit are doing.

I hope that you will have the opportunity to visit any members of the unit that are hospitalized. Occasionally, it would be appropriate for us to go as a team to visit the sick and hospitalized members of the unit. I want you to also occasionally visit the hospital to observe sick-call. Occasionally, we may have a solider in trouble with the law. When we do, I expect you to visit him, be it in the stockade, or the local jail. Perhaps, we can help the soldiers before they get into that kind of trouble. It is most important that you, as a man of God and as an officer, attend training. When the unit goes out into the field I expect my entire staff to be "with the troops." I expect you to be a regular attendee at the physical training sessions and a leader on the road marches. In that vein, I like to have my chaplains wear something symbolic (e.g., a colored baseball cap, or a large cross painted on their helmets) to identify them to the troops. I want to you to be seen. I want our

troops to know you are with them and available to help them. Perhaps, some of the troops can even translate that into the realization that God's presence is always with them. I want them to see you on marches, at PT, on the weapons' ranges. in the vehicles, in the mess halls, in the clubs, as well as in the chapel. There will be times when participating in training, especially field training in rain and cold and mud, will be unpleasant. That is when our young soldiers need you the most. There will be festive occasions when the major part of the unit will be relaxing. During these periods, some of our soldiers will be on guard duty or involved in an unpleasant detail. At these times it is a great lift to the individual soldier to see his commander and/or his chaplain. Take God's love to the troops; don't wait for them—in the chapel. Their spiritual welfare must come before your personal comfort.

One other area where I would like you to be an active participant is the management of the Morale Support Funds (MSF). The MSF are monies which we receive from the Department of the Army to purchase items for recreation and entertainment. These funds are provided for the soldiers' welfare. I will appoint you to the fund council as soon as you arrive on station. The meetings are held quarterly and I expect you to be an active participant in determining the priorities for the allocation of these funds.

If you can find time in what will be a busy schedule, you should make pastoral calls on the members of this unit. I realize this may not be practiced in some Army units, Chaplain, but it is an important function of any clergyman and we, the members of your congregation, need your constant support. Visit the soldiers in their barracks. Go to their homes. Spend time in their work areas.

Finally, I expect each member of this organization to maintain a soldierly appearance and a positive military bearing. You and your enlisted assistants are expected to maintain the high standards prescribed for the rest of the organization. We are proud of our uniform, delighted to exchange friendly greetings with our salutes, and enjoy a high sense of esprit de corps in the Ninety-Ninth.

Perhaps, you are wondering what's the "bottom line." Be a pastor and teacher to all of us, a soldier's chaplain, the commander's right-hand helper and, especially, a servant of the Lord. There is a role only you can fill. That's the bottom line. My intent has been to "tell it like it is"—to help you understand my beliefs about the role of chaplain. I am not sure what you have been taught at the Chaplains' school; hopefully, my concept of the role of a chaplain and their doctrine are congruent.

Again, my welcome. We are anxiously looking forward to your arrival and the opportunity to serve with you and together for the men of the Ninety-Ninth. Sometimes it may seem that there is too much work expected for any one man, but there will be time for fun, fellowship, relaxation, and an opportunity to serve with the most outstanding soldiers in the Army. I cannot close this letter without including the Biblical quote that has to be a cornerstone of our leadership philosophy. It is from Matthew, Chapter Two, Verses 25-28.

But Jesus called them together and said, "Among the heathen, kings are tyrants and each minor official lords it over those beneath him. But among you it is quite different. Any one wanting to be a leader among you must be your servant. And, if you want to be right at the top, you must serve as a slave. Your attitude must be like my own, for I did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give my life as a ransom for many.

Sincerely, Your Commander

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#### The U.S. Army Chaplaincy Service Support Agency

#### Thomas R. Smith

The U.S. Army Chaplaincy Service Support Agency has been around in one form or another since 1945 when it was organized at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, at the US Army Chaplains' School. The mission for the Board was generally to report on such matters as might be referred to it by the Chief of Chaplains for the improvement of the chaplaincy. Its first task was to oversee the development of the first series of "Citizenship and Morality Talks," the forerunner of the Character Guidance Instruction program which became a primary duty of chaplains in all Army units in the 1950s.

In June 1946 the board became a class II installation tenant and came under the control of the Chief of Chaplains' office. Shortly thereafter it moved to Fort Meade, Maryland, and remained there until 1975. Over the years its functions grew to several divisions: film and audio-visual development, religious education, homiletics, journalism, family life and pastoral care. With the great emphasis on Character Guidance Instruction in the Army throughout the 50s, 60s, and into the early 70s, the Board produced not only the scripts but films supporting the lectures as well. It became a raison d'etre for the Board.

The Board tried everything to accomplish the mission. Working on various ways to communicate character guidance material, they hit upon the idea of publishing a comic book. Prototypes were sent to the field and wonderful results were alleged from their use, one chaplains claiming a 'drastic reduction in the Army prison population and the incidence of courts martial.'' (Robert L. Gushwa, *The Best and Worst of Times, The U.S. Army Chaplaincy, 1920-1945*. Vol. IV, p 45).

The term "board" for some chaplains was unsettling, intimating the "board" which integrated to the Regular Army. To calm the nervousness, the Office of the Chief of Chaplains issued a statement in 1947: "Contrary

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to a misunderstanding, which seems to be rather widespread, the Chaplain Board has nothing to do with the integration of chaplains into the Regular Army." Other chaplains figured the Board was a place to dump troublemakers. The appearance of some chaplains on the Board seemed to lend credence to that. In fact, Chaplain John Hoogland, first editor of the *Military Chaplains' Review*, when hearing about his assignment to the Board in 1971, wondered, "What has the Chief found out about me?" (See lead article, this issue). He later returned to the Board to be its first Deputy Director under the reorganization as the U.S. Army Chaplaincy Services Support Agency.

The Board moved to Fort Wadsworth, NY, in 1975 once again to be co-located with the U.S. Army Chaplain School. In 1979 when the Chaplain School moved to Fort Monmouth, the Board followed and took up quarters at the U.S. Army Chaplain Center and School.

During the time at Fort Meade and Fort Wadsworth, the Board occasionally took on a life and agenda of its own. Often the President of the Board had a great deal of autonomy in how he accomplished his mission, and often in the selection of his mission. In some cases the Chief of Chaplains and the Board President cooperated to maintain this operational independence. In other times, the autonomy continued in spite of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains. In the late 1970s, however, Chaplain (MG) Kermit Johnson began asking some pointed questions about the mission and functions of the Board. His questioning of its purpose began the process of moving the Board not only closer in function and policy to the Chief of Chaplains' office, but also physically closer.

In July 1979, AR 10-55 was published. It set the mission and functions of the U.S. Army Chaplain Board (USACHB), and made it the field operating agency (FOA) of the Chief of Chaplains office. It broadened the scope of the Board to begin research into family needs, and to study the changing needs of the soldier. It also set into regulation the several programs already in place such as publication of the *Military Chaplains' Review*, training and supporting of Directors of Religious Education, and religious education coordinators. Production of audio-visual resources expanded greatly during this time as the Board fielded many resource and training films for chaplains and congregations.

#### **Ongoing Ministries**

A look at the Board's unofficial, bootlegged newsletter, "The Scout" from January, 1980, reveals a couple of on-going programs which were initiated by the Board. The Multi-Ethnic/Cultural Religious Education Ministries Conference follow-up was scheduled in May, 1980; and a pilot project, a week-long intensive preaching workshop was scheduled for March, 1980, at Princeton Seminary. Both of these programs are continuing to help chaplains professionally in 1992.

April, 1984, marked the first discussion of the move to Washington, D.C. The idea was not too popular with the Board, however, within three years, the wheels were moving in the Pentagon, and soon after that, on the



The U.S. Army Chaplain Board, 1980-1984; Standing (left to right) front row Bess Ballard, Patricia Jennings, Beth Armstrong Chaplains, standing (left to right) Ch (LTC) Richard Donovan, Ch (MAJ) Louis Schmidt, Ch (LTC) Geoffrey Moran, Ch (COL) Billy Libby, President, Ch (LTC) Thomas Merrill, MSG Aaron Gibson, Ch (LTC) Kenneth Clements.



The U.S. Army Chaplain Board 1984-1988: (left to right) Ch (LTC) Richard Adams, Ch (MAJ) James Herndon, Ch (LTC) Ignatius Butler, Ch (MAJ) William Noble, Ch (COL) John Hoogland, President, MSG Ron Bowren, Ch (MAJ) Paul Vicalvi.

moving vans. The Board became the U.S. Army Chaplaincy Service Support Agency and came to Washington in March, 1988.

#### **Evolution Into the USACSSA**

Chief of Chaplains, Chaplain (MG) Norris Einertson's vision of this new and improved agency which was the old Chaplain's Board was expressed in his letter to the Director of the Army Staff: "I propose... to restructure the agency to more efficiently respond to my mission requirements by relocation and reorganization. The restructured agency is to be more responsive to soldier and family needs through the Soldier Religious Support Branch; to streamline proponent issues through the Proponent Support Branch and to focus on future issues through the Professional Support Branch.

In a bold move, the Deputy Chief of Chaplains was named Director of new Agency. The Deputy Director became the director of the day to day operations.

Civilian personnel included an Administrative Officer, Budget Officer, Program Analyst, two Secretaries, and a Mail Clerk.

Military Personnel included the following chaplains' positions:

Soldier Ministries: Parish Planner
Soldier and Family Life Enrichment
Soldier Religious Education Support
Chief, Proponent Support Branch
Religious Research Officer - (Homiletics and Journalism)
Audio-Visuals, Futures Research
Recruiting Officers.

By 1991, with the beginning of the draw-down of the Army, the Agency was tasked to slim down and move to the Pentagon by the end of the fiscal year 1992. The rationale was: the Congressional requirement for HQs Department of the Army to reduce its staffing by 20%; the need to leave the high-rent location on K St. Northwest in downtown Washington, D.C; and elimination of training redundancy. Moreover, the move to the Pentagon saves space and dollars, provides closer coordination, and enables a reorganization of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains and the Agency into management/policy (OCCH) and operational functions (CSSA).

#### New Shape of the Agency in 92/93

The move to the Pentagon will be complete by August 1992. A reorganization will leave some functions with the Agency, and move others to new homes. There will be no change in the top leadership of the Agency. The Deputy Chief of Chaplains will continue to be Director. The Deputy Director will continue to oversee the day-to-day operations. Civilian personnel at the Pentagon location will be a Secretary, Budget Officer, and assistant, and Accessions Officer and assistant.

Military Personnel will be: Chief, Operations Support, Soldier and Family Ministries Officer, Research and Professional Support Officer Chief, Assignments Branch Recruiting Officers

Resource and training functions are to move to other chaplaincy agencies.

#### The Future

The "Board" has evolved over the years in response to the resource and professional development needs of the Army chaplaincy. In an era with greater focus on the needs of the structure and the consequences of downsizing the Army, the "Board become Agency" takes on a new form to respond. As we pass this crisis in our transition to a smaller Army, other needs will develop and more than likely someone will say, "Why don't we establish a Chaplains' Board here at Fort Monmouth to do resourcing and research for the professional development of chaplains?

The US Army Chaplaincy Service Support Agency has a new look and new location, and a new mission for 1992/93, but will continue to be the "Action Agency" for the Chief of Chaplains, providing new ideas, research, and professional support. Its most critical functions in the days ahead will be accessioning and reassignment of chaplains in the Army of the future, promoting family ministry issues, doing strategic planning, and continuing to look to the future and to study such matters referred to it by the Chief of Chaplains for the improvement of the chaplaincy.

#### Ministry to Muslim Converts After Desert Storm

#### Robert L. Flaherty

While at Khobar Towers near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia awaiting our unit's redeployment to Germany, night after night I visited the Saudi cultural information tent. To learn about Saudi culture is to learn about Islam. The Quran informs cultural norms and behavior. The government believes it has a mission to preserve the Islamic holy sites and to foster knowledge of Islam.

Each night a Muslim scholar delivered a lecture on Islam in a large fest tent. Thirty or so American soldiers attended. Some were curious. Others wanted to debate. Still others were Muslims themselves for various lengths of time, some as long as ten years, others as recently as the night before. Muslim staff from around the world—Saudi Arabia, United States, Lebanon, parts of Africa—engaged individuals in conversation, staffed literature tables and answered questions. The literature tables included free literature and cassette tapes about Islam and Saudi Arabia. They also had the Quran, hadith, and scholarly works for sale.

After each lecture, which lasted forty minutes to an hour, the speaker answered questions from the audience. Theological, historical, and cultural topics were the grist for questions. Invariably answers involved some reference to the Quran and Muslim practice.

Adjacent to the large tent was a smaller one. Scholars presented lectures, always of a theological nature and evangelistic in tone. They also talked with soldiers in small groups and one-on-one. Three or four conversations might go on at the same time in the 12 X 12 area of the small tent. These conversations and lectures always involved the Bible and the Quran. In this tent some US soldiers converted to Islam.

To convert, or revert as one Muslim preferred to say, a person need confess God is one and acknowledge the prophethood of all the prophets,

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including Jesus and Mohammed. The notion of reversion is interesting. Muslims believe everyone is born a Muslim, i.e. surrendered to God. A person is educated into Judaism, Christianity or some other religion. When one converts to Islam, one comes back, reverts, to the religion of one's birth.

The atmosphere of the tent had an appeal all its own. It was physically intriguing. The tents themselves were traditional bedouin tents. Mats and cushions on the floor were the furniture. The Saudis wore traditional white thobes and white or white and red checked ghutras. Incense filled the air of the large tent and sandalwood cologne was prominent.

The atmosphere was also emotionally engaging. The lectures and conversations were intense. The speakers transmitted their devotion with obvious passion and conviction. They communicated their personal warmth by sincere individual greetings, using a person's name, touch, attending behaviors, and embrace. The spirit in the tent gave me a sense akin to that of being in a Christian revival meeting.

I personally experienced the charm and warmth of several of the staff with whom I talked. They were eager to tell me about Islam and after some time willing to listen to what I had to say. They were particularly interested in how Army chaplains advise the commander about issues of free exercise of religion, especially for Muslim soldiers.

I talked with a dozen or so Muslim US soldiers. Two or three had been Muslim for several years before deployment to southwest Asia. They appeared to be grounded in their faith and ecstatic to have an opportunity to be in the holy land. Others converted during their present stay in Saudi, usually within a few days of our meeting.

Once I was present in the small tent when a soldier embraced Islam. The counselor with whom he spoke stood up and presented the soldier to the Muslims in the tent. Conversations ceased. One by one each Muslim hugged this new Muslim. Some kissed him on both cheeks, a traditional arab greeting.

I am concerned about these soldiers on three counts:

#### The Circumstances of Conversion.

The high energy, the intrigue of a foreign culture and the warmth of the Muslim presenters combined made a powerful emotional impact. The presentations also had an intellectual appeal. The typical presentation hit hard at places Christianity is intellectually vulnerable: trinity, deity of Jesus, and the textual tradition of the Bible.

Of course, a Christian with theological education recognizes that within Christendom, Catholic, Orthodox, and protestant theologians, struggle with these issues. Even among Christians who profess the orthodox christological declarations of the councils from Nicea to Chalcedon (and not all Christians do), theologians work to interpret the formulations. The same holds true for the mystery of Trinity.

The facts are clear regarding the textual tradition of the Bible. The oldest existent Hebrew text dates from the tenth century of the common era. The Dead Sea scrolls point to the accuracy of the text, but even they date

only from the first century. As far as the New Testament is concerned, our Greek texts are redactions from many fragmentary texts of varying length and trustworthiness. For a person who does not know about the transmission of the text, these facts create uncertainty. The Muslim presenters also pointed out that the ancient languages of the Bible, Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, and Koine Greek, are either no longer spoken or different from the current languages.

I recall the challenge these issues created for me when I first faced them. I learned them in a Christian academic environment under the tutelage of professors who nurtured my faith. I suspect that most soldiers who listened to the presentations confronted these intellectual problems for the first time although they may have wondered about them. The more they had wondered, the more susceptible they were to these presentations. Often I heard presenters say something like this: "Ask your priests or pastors to explain the Trinity and they will tell you, 'It is a mystery.' If even they cannot understand it, how can you believe it?" Once doubt arises, the soldier is particularly open to the straight-forward, easy to follow central message of Islam: God is one and there is no other God.

Of the dozen or so Muslim US soldiers I talked with, at least half converted to Islam while at Khobar Towers. At least three of these soldiers struck me as outsiders, i.e. the kind of person who searches to find himself or herself and does not fit into the mainstream. The emotional warmth and acceptance they experienced in the bedouin tents is especially attractive to this kind of person.

The circumstances of these conversions raises two pastoral issues for me. First, soldiers may have converted as a knee-jerk reaction. Of course, the same could be said of anyone who has a conversion experience. Some hear the message but do not understand. They lose what they thought they had. Some hear the message and at once receive it with joy, but since they have no root, they last only a short time. Some get distracted. And some experience a changed life. Second, I fear that the stereotypical soldiers I described at least potentially have set themselves up for further isolation.

# The Support Community, or Lack of it, at the Soldier's Home Station

Soldiers who converted to Islam will have minimal support at their home stations. Some support is available, however. There are major centers in over 100 locations throughout the US. At the information table in the tents soldiers could pick up a list of those centers. Most communities of any size will have a mosque. Many Army installations provide space for Muslim soldiers to meet and pray on the installation or provide transportation to a nearby civilian mosque.

## The Chaplain's Supportive Role.

The challenge before us is common, viz. accommodating religious practice. Three goals immediately come to mind regarding the chaplain's supportive role.

#### a. To understand the issues of conversion.

I wrote regarding the circumstances of conversion out of concern for the soldiers who converted, especially the most vulnerable of them. A chaplain could easily prey on that vulnerability for the sake of the chaplain's own need. A zealous chaplain may look for occasion to "reconvert" or "rescue" a "confused soldier." I hope that does not happen. Such zeal would only make things worse for the soldier. Rather I hope chaplains will help those who seek their council and guidance to sort through theological, religious, emotional and personal issues allowing the soldier to reach his or her own conclusions. Those conclusions may be quite different from the ones a chaplain may want to impose on the soldier.

#### b. To provide a link to other Muslims.

As chaplains we frequently provide religious opportunities for persons outside of our faith groups. The soldiers who converted to Islam are part of an existing group which had no chaplain of its own faith group. Our job is to provide opportunities within the military community or to bridge the civilian community for these soldiers under our care.

#### c. To advocate free exercise and accommodation.

To practice Islam faithfully in the United States, let alone in the US Army, is no easy task. Our society, and certainly the Army, is not structured to accommodate five daily prayer times, Friday communal prayers. fasting during Ramadan, and dietary requirements of Muslims.

Soldiers who are new converts will soon discover the difficulties experienced by soldiers who have practiced Islam for a long time. During field exercises Muslims often live on substandard diets because they will not eat pork products or food touched by utensils which have come in contact with pork. A Muslim's requests for time to pray, for release from duty on Fridays for communal prayer, and for special consideration regarding physical taskings during the month of Ramadan are often met with annoyance at least or worse with disdain. When the media reports "Muslim terrorism," Muslim soldiers become suspect to soldiers with whom they work. The chaplain constantly needs to educate the command about the requirements of Islam, advocate for soldiers who are trying to live faithfully, and interpret Islam to the Muslim soldier's peers.

New converts will likely face another problem. Sooner or later someone will question the sincerity of their conversion, especially if they have no documentation of conversion and their military record does not indicate Islam is their religious preference. Once again chaplains will need to advocate on behalf of the soldier.

The above concerns impact the way we chaplains carry out our work. Understanding the circumstances of conversion gives us insights into soldiers who converted to Islam. Recognizing the soldier's need for support alerts us to find ways to offer the soldier support. Knowing issues Muslim soldiers face equips us to educate, advocate and interpret on behalf of Muslim soldiers.

# **Changing Corps in Midstream**

Norman F. Brown

#### From Lieutenant, SWO, to Lieutenant, CHC.

Walking away from Nuclear Weapons Training Group Pacific on 25 June 1976, where I'd been an instructor for three years, I had mixed feelings of freedom and fright. After eleven years as a naval officer, I was out of the Navy. Ahead lay seminary. But it was scary for a man with a wife and two daughters to whose only visible means of support would be VA benefits.

My commanding officer, a 30 year captain, farewelled me with the fond wish I'd return to the Navy as a chaplain. But I doubted I'd be back. My goals were to pastor, preach and eventually teach the profession.

Seven Junes later, however, in 1983, I found myself reporting as staff chaplain for Destroyer Squadron 12 (DESRON 12). The odyssey from North Island Naval Air Station, California, to Mayport Naval Station, Florida, is another story. The leadership culture shock I encountered upon re-entry is the subject of this paper.

## Getting Aboard as a Chaplain

I declined my church's invitation to enter the Chaplain Corps immediately following seminary, because I did not know myself as a clergyman. The better part of wisdom seemed to be that I take a call to a church pastorate. So I did and in three years learned to be a pastor. But the military had given me a taste for changing challenges every three years. The Navy looked like a ministry adventure, so, due to my advancing age (my 36th birthday coming up!) it was now or never! Thus we found ourselves at Mayport and DESRON 12. My predecessor had missed being fired only because the Chaplain Corps did a pre-emptive strike and gotten him out of there. My

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Catholic colleague was on a UNITAS (Good will tour with South & Central American Naval Forces) deployment. The squadron had been without a chaplain for six weeks. I hit the deck running.

The first objective was to establish myself as the chaplain. Indeed, the detailor and group chaplain had said my having been a Surface Warfare Officer (SWO) was just the thing to impress a hard-bitten commodore and skeptical squadron of ships. The SWO pin was my door-opener, but I was uncomfortable. Minister and officer needed to be synthesized into "chaplain."

Complicating my search to "find myself" as a chaplain was the uniform greeting, "Hey! A surface warfare chaplain!" At first, I enjoyed the title because it meant acceptance as an officer. But did it also convey suspicion? "Why did he leave our fraternity?" I was acceptable because I'd been "one of them," not a chaplain.

With the acclamation came the temptation to function like a line officer. Several times I conned ships for underway replenishment (UNREPS). Folks were impressed the old sea dog could still do it. I could play aces unavailable to other chaplains, like the Naval Academy fraternity. Classmates, as well as other former contemporaries, were now XOs. They accepted me aboard all DESRON 12's ships. Even COs saw me as "one of them." In retrospect, playing these aces was justified. My supervisory chaplain liked my networking, and it was always employed for the advantage of others, never myself.

My supervisor was a good man, but no mentor to help me transition from line officer to chaplain. There were unexpected trials. I still-find it difficult to be prophet to the institution. My sympathies too readily reside with the line officers. They usually expect me to take their side rather than challenge them. So, I hope this paper will focus attention on the growing number of former line-officers-turned-chaplain, with the prayer others can do it better.

Managing a Command Religious Program (CRP) was also a new experience. It was discouraging to find most line officers and enlisted cared little about the CRP unless I fell short of their image of a chaplain. They expected worship services, but few attended. They demanded chaplain availability to their troubled troops. But should lay readers need to be appointed by the command so I could train them, resistance set in and hardened fast.

Chaplains manage differently than line officers. As a weapons officer, for instance, I simply had to subscribe to goals fairly well set by others. Now I was supposed to set my own goals. Most didn't care what those goals were so long as I met their expectations. In the line, motivation came from the command. Now I had to be a self-starter. Where once just suggesting something to my subordinates got response, now even direct requests to staff or ship officers brought only grudging promises to see what could be done.

It took that 19 month tour for me to come aboard as a chaplain. My role swung like a pendulum between right and left collar device. And most of the time it didn't go like clockwork. Thankfully, it was my third tour before I was responsible for another chaplain. Somehow I made the move from minister to military chaplain.

### Becoming the Leader-Chaplain.

Is the naval officer primarily a manager of "men, money, and materiel" or a military leader? What sort of officer is the chaplain?

Abraham Zaleznick's view is that management is a subset of leader-ship. That fits for me. And I contend that both officers and ministers are "called" to be leaders. Of course, there are significant differences. I am grateful for the leadership training we got at the Academy and on the job. My seminary education and church experience exposed me to church leadership. Returning to the Navy, a synthesis was necessary to become a leader-chaplain.

A leader-chaplain is more the visionary, goal-setter, and self-starter than I'd been as a SWO. It requires taking greater responsibility for the CRP than I'd ever assumed for the church. In my tradition, Christ is the Head of the church, with clergy the "undershepherds," as my ordination formulary so quaintly put it. But failure to produce as staff chaplain could not be pietistically passed off onto the Lord. The commodore wasn't interested in theological excuses. And while I only had two Religious Program Specialists (RPs) to lead and manage, there were some 30 lay readers, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, to supervise.

It is easy to talk of supervising subordinates and playing pastor in the same breath. But the chaplaincy, I learned, requires doing both in the same breadth. A Protestant lay reader falling down on the job had not only to be supervised, but pastored for personal problems which his lay reader failures were a symptom. The RP who was supposed to cover Sunday services but had to go to the Northwest because Mom was dying, expected me not only to arrange coverage for his duty and emergency leave, but also to be there for him in his grief.

I had to learn the distinctions and interactions between the two collar devices. Communicating to lay readers and subordinates without compromising either device was tricky but essential. When the RP who'd failed to prepare for a memorial service required a "chewing out," it was tempting to do it the old way. Resisting, I then nearly erred and let is slide, as I'd often had to do as a church pastor. The catechism teacher didn't "work" for me. She was doing the church a service. If a teachers' meeting were forgotten, well, I just had to accept her apology.

There were advantages to having been in the line. I knew which end of the ship and which person on the quarterdeck rated salutes. Getting around a ship was no problem. The language of the chiefs' quarters was drastically different than that heard at an elders' meeting, but it didn't shock this chaplain.

As a Viet Nam vet, I found younger officers and sailors intrigued about the war. Sea stories were good conversation pieces once the SWO pin had gained me entre. But they were not always ministry. Too often I used them to erect my wall of words to keep the sailors' pain out of my reach. It was a balancing act: sea story or sympathetic sharing?

I began to learn about being a leader-chaplain during that first tour. My dualistic history forced me to synthesize officer and chaplain roles.

Sadly, it wasn't until I passed through the purifying waters of Chaplain Enrichment & Development (CREDO) for 28 months, and then the purifying fires of a difficult follow-on tour, that I began to understand that God wanted me to be a leader-chaplain.

# Assisting Other Chaplains.

When one has "prior service" (that phrase always strikes me like "ex con"), junior chaplains get curious. Seeing a SWO pin, they often ask, "What's that? Are you a submariner?" Sadly, it never stirs the awe wings or 'dolphins' do. Viet Nam Service and Campaign ribbons also get a reaction, usually a mixture of respect and fear. Some must wonder whether I'll turn on them like a maniac with post traumatic stress disorder.

I enjoy the role I have been asked to play. Having been "home grown" by the Navy, I do have an insider's understanding of the system. My background has been helpful to bringing new chaplains on board.

Looking up the chain of command, the same set of ribbons and device can be threatening to senior chaplains. Some have feared their authority would be undermined simply because they thought I knew more about the system. But most senior chaplains (0-5/0-6) have much more active duty time than I, and more Chaplain Corps experience. When I feel their fear, I make every effort to show them my support, without being ingratiating and obsequious, which would only serve to reinforce the insecurities. One way to be a team ministry player is by networking, being careful not to worry the boss. Communication is the key, keeping the boss apprised of what I'm doing and whence my loyalty lies.

Having old war ribbons and an old warfare emblem over my left pocket is both a burden and a blessing. There have been times when the device nearly was thrown into the bureau drawer. But I have resisted that temptation, and spurned the title, "surface warfare chaplain." By balancing these two burdens they have become blessings. As accidents of history which have shaped my life, they are just part of me as a chaplain and leader. My goal is to use them for the good of my ministry and His Kingdom.

#### Conclusion

This paper is a theological reflection on part of my faith journey. It has taken me this long to see the differences between line officer and chaplain. Much learning has been by trial and error, with regrets over failures and soulsearching to find better ways.

Whenever my ship participated in a fleet exercise, the post-mortem always had a part called "lessons learned." Even the worst failures had something to teach us. There are lessons to learn from my experience as well.

With chaplains who have "prior service," the Basic Course instructors and first duty station supervisors need to appreciate the special difficulties of transitioning from line to chaplain. Affirmation is a commendable leadership trait but commending a chaplain for being a former line officer can send the

wrong signals. He/she may think there is no need for further training. Old patterns then become rigidly internalized. Or, an insecure line-officer-turned-chaplain may become more frightened, believing he/she dare not ask for assistance.

It should not be assumed that prior service, whether commissioned or enlisted, was a positive experience, just because the person returned to the military. Any counselor will understand how painful issues, such as post traumatic stress, may drive one to return to the arena to try to work them through. Such obsessions are generally subconscious. So, the individual's history should be carefully explored with the purpose of helping them work old issues through.

Even in the absence of obvious issues, special chaplain leadership is necessary. The similarities and distinctives of line-versus-chaplain leadership styles need to be discussed. The new chaplain without any military experience may have an easier time. As a corollary, it is important to explore and affirm the individual's uniqueness while ensuring she/he understands her/his equality, not superiority, with all fellow chaplains.

Finally, there are potholes in the road from line officer to chaplain, like the temptation to find one's niche in old-style relationships with former line contemporaries. There are also expectations from the line and enlisted that this chaplain will be on the establishment's side, which is a real temptation to the chaplain.

But, above all, as with any second career clergyperson, there is the need to help him/her become a cleric. These people need help leaving their former careers with the associated self-image, and cleaving to the unique vocation of minister, priest, or rabbi. New seminary graduates, who lack "prior service," may well have an easier time finding themselves as clergy.

These are some primary points of reflection that come to mind for helping those who have been officers become chaplains. I appreciate the opportunity to reflect on my own experience. I pray at least I will use these insights to help those who follow me.

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# Religious Programming in the AFRTS World

#### Richard B. Davenport

If Jesus were here today would he use television to share his message? Evangelist Billy Graham says yes.

Christian sage Malcolm Muggeridge said that if Jesus were here today the use of television would be the fourth temptation offered him by the Devil

The question raises the profound issue of not only how, but even whether, television and radio should be used to spread the message of religious traditions. Some religious traditions have determined that the essence and purity of their beliefs do not translate well through the electronic media, and thus they don't use it. Marshall McLuhan's famous statement about the effect of the medium on the message holds particular relevance for anyone attempting to talk about ultimate truth and meaning through mass medias known primarily for their conveyance of sensationalism and superficiality.

Still, for the majority of late twentieth century Americans, radio and television form the dominant cultural influence on their lives. Recent studies have shown that in the average American home the television is on 49 hours per week. That amounts to two full days and nights each week! Both at home and away from it—especially in the car or at work and play—how much of the balance of the time is the radio on?

When military duty takes us—and sometimes our families—overseas, we enter a similar but also unique media environment...the world of the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS). A walk through dayrooms, mess facilities, recreational and shopping areas, work places, and private quarters reveals just what a pervasive role AFRTS plays in the lives of military members and their families overseas. Given this reality, how should we approach religious programming in the AFRTS world?

Chaplain, Major, Richard B. Davenport, USAF, is the Liaison Chaplain from the Armed Forces Chaplains' Board to the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service in Sun Valley, California. He holds degrees from Principia College, Elsah, Illinois, and Boston University School of Theology, and is endorsed by the Christian Science Church.

#### The Approval Process

Let's begin by looking at how religious programs and spots find their way into the AFRTS world. If they are produced locally overseas, i.e. at the base level, on-board ship, or for theatre-wide use, they should have the approval of the senior chaplain in command. That chaplain may designate the approving authority to a subordinate, but he or she retains responsibility for religious programming that is originated locally.

If any religious programs or spots are circulated outside the theatre in which they are produced, they must be approved by the Armed Forces Chaplains Board (AFCB). Consisting of the three Chiefs of Chaplains and their Deputies, the AFCB has designated representatives from the respective Chaplain Resource Boards to function as the Audio Visual Advisory Group (AVAG). The AVAG Chaplains hold quarterly meetings with representatives from AFRTS and the American Forces Information Service, as well as the Executive Director of the AFCB and the AFCB's Liaison Chaplain to AFRTS.

The latter position, rotates every three years between the Navy, Air Force, and Army. The Liaison Chaplain coordinates religious programming and spots at the AFRTS Broadcast Center in Los Angeles, and brings submitted religious material from a wide variety of sources before the AVAG. They review it and make recommendations to the AFCB for the approval or disapproval of specific programs or spots. Guiding this process are the AFCB's Selection Criteria ensuring that material that the AFCB approves:

- 1) does not treat any other religious group in a derogatory fashion;
- 2) is void of any solicitation of the audience for money or even written contacts;
- 3) maintains network broadcast standards regarding the production's look and sound; and
- 4) strives to creatively reach a wide audience in an inclusive spirit devoid of a narrow sectarian agenda.

Maintaining these high standards, and being open to submissions from any religious group able to meet them, has allowed the American Forces Information Service (AFIS)—AFRTS' parent organization—to defend, to Congress and others, the continued distribution of religious programming on AFRTS.

Given the pluralistic nature of the AFRTS audience, the government sponsorship of AFRTS, and the national and religious sensitivities of the host countries where we broadcast—AFIS encourages a religious presence on AFRTS like the Chaplaincy, which doesn't seek to openly convert or proselytize people of one belief system to another. Rather AFIS views religious programming on AFRTS as an extension of the free exercise of religion clause of the First Amendment that, again like the Chaplaincy, is a recognition of the Government's obligation to those in its military service that live far from home.

In recognition of this right to worship, the government makes every

effort to provide DoD personnel and their families overseas, "approximate" avenues by which their faith may be nurtured and their religious needs met. While neither the Chaplaincy or AFRTS can offer the variety of religious ministries available in the States to every location overseas, a sincere effort is made to respond to as many diverse needs as possible.

#### **Broad-Casting Vs. Narrow-Casting**

Present policy from AFIS is that religious programming must air during a 24-hour window on Sunday. Given the Sunday morning time slots in which most of our religious shows air—and the presence of much of their natural audience in chapel at those times—it has become increasingly important to distribute religious shows that appeal to wider audiences. The challenge is to be "in" the media, without being "of" the media. We speak of maintaining the careful balance between the purity of the religious message and the need to make the message relevant to the mass audience. Care must be taken not to err on the side of purity by telling everything that we know on the air. Jesus used parables—especially in speaking to wider or "mass" audiences.

On the other hand, the temptation to be relevant, above all else, may gain a large audience for a message that has little uniqueness or distinction. After all, is not the heart of the religious experience simply caring for others and encouraging self-esteem?

Dr. William Fore an ordained Methodist minister and head of the telecommunication activities of the National Council of Churches, is currently teaching media and ministry at Yale Divinity School. In his book *Television and Religion; the Shaping of Faith, Values and Culture* (Augsburg Press, Minneapolis), Dr. Fore develops a number of important concepts for religious broadcasting. One of these is the difference between "broadcasting" and "narrow-casting."

Dr. Fore's distinction is more than just a semantic one. It strikes at the heart of who we are as religious communicators, to whom we're speaking, how we're communicating, and what we're saying. Sunday morning worship services are an inherently narrow-cast event. The people who voluntarily rise early on Sunday to attend chapel, and come with a specific set of expectations, constitute a narrow audience within the larger base or ship constituency. That's fine, and this is how it has always been. There is nothing wrong with narrow-casting... unless we confuse it with broad-casting.

Most often this confusion arises when we take a narrow-cast message, that would probably work fine with our chapel congregation, and believe that simply by placing it over a broadcast medium we are *broad*-casting. Even the best TV preachers have a very difficult job carrying a programlength sermon to a diverse audience. Most of our AFRTS audience only have one English-language channel available to them on TV. This means that the preachers, whether it be Robert Schuller or the local chaplain doing a two minute devotion, have a very difficult job to win an audience, many of whom would rather be watching or listening to something else.

This is why the Audio Visual Advisory Group (AVAG) is very careful in recommending AFCB approval of programming that airs primarily on

religious or "Christian" stations. Not only does such programming often fail AFRTS' stringent technical qualifications, but it is often designed to appeal to a very narrow audience, both numerically and demographically. For example, when a radio station begins airing a religious program format in a metropolitan area it does not appreciably expand the audience for religious programming. Rather the station intensifies the competition among the existing "religious" stations for a share of the relatively small percent of the public who listen to religious radio. In the television arena, studies have repeatedly indicated that well over 2/3 of those who watch Christian cable programming are already committed churchgoers. A large majority are over 50 and female, and many of the interests of this demographic group are not widely shared by the AFRTS target audience of 18-25 year olds who are primarily male.

#### Pre-Evangelism as a Goal

Given that the AFRTS target audience is young, primarily unchurched, rates world-wrestling and cartoons as their favorite television, and hard and fast rock as their favorite radio sound—what can we religious programmers do? Add to this that the sermonic approach, whether for two or twenty minutes, has a powerful turn-off factor among much of the audience.

Many experts agree that one thing we can do, as Dr. Fore phrases it, is to use the media for "pre-evangelism". Instead of trying to plant the seed of faith, water it, and harvest—all on the air—we might concentrate our media efforts on just breaking up the soil and preparing it to receive the seed.

One reason that virtually all of the national religious bodies have not invested in televising worship services is that, in addition to it being "poor" television, they have rejected the notion of trying to be the "church" on TV or, perhaps more specifically, of trying to be "TV pastors." Religious faith grows in the context of community, and the television viewing or radio listening experience is a poor substitute. At times, during hospitalization or incapacity, it might be a necessary substitute, but a good religious presentation on television or radio should lead one into a worshipping community—not attempt to be a substitute for it. We still carry worship and teaching shows on AFRTS and have worked to strengthen and diversify our presence in these formats. There are, however, a variety of other program formats being made increasingly available to our AFRTS audience.

#### **Directions in Television**

On television one of the best examples is also one of our longest running shows. "Insight," by Paulist Productions, uses recognizable actors like Martin Sheen and Ed Asner to depict dramatic scenarios of universal appeal. These real life situations invite life-affirming responses of faith and serve as springboards for religious inquiry.

A recently distributed special from the Jewish Theological School, entitled "The Discovery," does this in an equally superb way. Featuring Josh Saviano, one of the young co-stars of the hit series "The Wonder

Years," the story centers around a Jewish boy who would rather play baseball than prepare for his Bar-Mitzvah. Although "The Discovery" deals specifically with the Jewish tradition, its theme of what it means to accept adulthood in a religious community could be used with Christian confirmation classes.

The use of story enhances religious discovery. Jesus spoke in parables to complement his preaching and teaching. He used colorful and relevant metaphors and analogies. His stories were often simple, and yet full of richer and more subtle meanings for those ready to listen and hear.

Central to that ability to hear profound religious messages is our willingness to see and hear as little children. Last year we began the regular distribution of a variety of high quality religious shows for children. Using animation, muppetry, and live action (i.e. real kids), the entertaining story presentations in these shows remind us why it is often not the finely-honed logic of our three-point sermons that our congregation remembers, but our stories or illustrations—and especially the children's sermons and object lessons we've shared.

The stories of adults living their faith is also compelling, particularly if the people are genuine and the issues addressed are of wide interest to the diverse AFRTS audience. In the coming year a series entitled "Voices of Faith" will offer insights into such varied experiences as being a Moslem in America today, (which is explored in the magazine show "Islam"), facing the challenges of family life in the '90's, giving one's self in service to others, and celebrating through charismatic Christian worship.

#### **Movements in Radio**

On AFRTS radio, Father Harry has long held a loyal youth following with his show "Love on the Rock". This show actually achieves ratings better than half the weekly entertainment shows on AFRTS. As the TV shows just mentioned use the culturally familiar TV format of drama to "prepare the soil" or "pre-evangelize", so Father Harry uses the familiar radio medium of popular music. The music is primarily top 40, mixed and cut in a way that—along with his brief creative comments as bridges between songs—explores a different theme each week.

Music is very important in the lives of our 18-25 year old target audience. AFRTS is now distributing four one-hour Christian music programs for radio showcasing such diverse styles as Christian Metal Music ("White Heat"), Contemporary Christian Hits ("20—The Countdown Magazine"), Urban Music ("The Urban Christian Countdown"), and Black Gospel ("Amen Corner").

Given the popularity of our first move into religious music videos on Armed Forces Television last year, the show "Real Videos" from the Trinity Broadcasting Network will expand on AFRTS to the full hour length in which it is seen in the States. It will rotate with "Fire By Nite," which is a Christian hybrid of "Saturday Night Live" and "The David Letterman Show." Also rotating with these shows, in what we hope local stations will schedule into a Sunday evening time slot, will be an international Christian

"American Bandstand" show entitled "Studio 7" from the Christian Broadcasting Network.

In addition to the outstanding production values, the common thread running through all of the music shows approved by the Armed Forces Chaplains Board is that the "witness" is made through the music itself or the guest interviews, and not through the efforts of the host to talk a great deal and preach or teach. This has enabled these shows to reach exceptionally large and diverse audiences in the U.S., and also among AFRTS listeners and viewers in areas where local stations are choosing to air them. (If you would like these shows aired locally, and they are not airing currently, please politely express your desires to the local station manager.)

Another approach to reaching a wide audience is "The Bottom Line", a radio show produced, gratis, for AFRTS. It features recovering alcoholics, some of whom are in the military, who share candidly and often quite dramatically about their experiences. Again a show such as this serves to open individuals to not only recognize their addictions, but to see their needs as essentially spiritual ones.

Speaking of spiritual needs, the preaching and teaching formats that have long been the traditional mainstay of religious radio have not been ignored. New additions to Armed Forces Radio in 1992 will be Billy Graham, Charles Stanley, and Lloyd Ogilvie. Hopefully the presence of these nationally known preachers will serve to prepare the hearts of our listeners to explore "answers" as well as additional questions with chaplains where they are stationed.

### What Can Be Done Locally?

While the lack of budget, production experience, and especially time may seem like major obstacles to the local chaplain wishing to reach out with AFRTS, they can be overcome.

Many chaplains do daily devotions on radio, with the assistance of the AFRTS personnel. This further amplifies the impact of one's ministry. As the devotions are honest, human, warm, and accepting, they will open people to chaplain ministry. On the other hand, as AFRTS station people will tell you from experience, if the daily media presence of the chaplain is "perceived"—even if unintended—as judgmental, rigid, and humorless, people will turn it off, mentally and/or physically, and the effect will be felt in the community's response to the chaplain. There is no technical substitute for the open expression of a chaplain's deep love for his or her community.

Some techniques, however, may enhance any presentation on radio. Something as simple as smiling when you read or speak into the microphone will make your voice much easier to listen to and more engaging. Daily devotions can also be enlivened with sound effects to emphasize a setting, by the use of interview clips with members of the base, post, or ship community, and with the proper use of pause and spacing. As preachers, many of us try to pack five minutes of words into two minutes of time. Chaplains may add a further element of story to their message by doing mini

radio-dramas or dialogues based on anything from a simulated counseling case to the elaboration of a parable or event from Scripture.

Chaplains are most creative in the development of short 30 or 60 second spots that play as public service announcements throughout the day on AFRTS. Used primarily on radio, these may be as simple as one devised in Germany concerning a soldier's wife. The spot depicted her thinking to herself while in line at the Commissary (with appropriate sound effects) about her anticipation of the wives support group meeting at the Chapel that night. Another setting, developed and used in the Philippines featured a humorous exchange between two men jogging (with huffing and crunching under foot). While running, one man is heard speaking to the other about the help he had received from participation in the base chapel programs.

Sound effects for spots such as these are readily available in the local AFRTS library. Again, one of the virtues of spots is that they may run at all times of the day and night as opposed to the locked-in time of the daily devotions—thereby reaching, with repetition and re-enforcement, a much wider audience. These spots can easily be done with the cultivated support of your local AFRTS personnel.

A third avenue is the local AFRTS newscast. The local AFRTS personnel are usually hungry for story ideas, and we can provide many. These pieces can't be bald chaplain commercials, but must be presented as news or feature story accounts. The challenge is to find a "hook"—an inviting angle—for the piece. One chapel managed to get wonderful coverage with the hook "How has the PTL scandal affected the base chapel program?" The same chapel had another piece done on what had happened in the chapel program 30 days after a major revival program had been held on the base. These opportunities afforded the base chaplain a forum from which he could share information—and memorable video images—promoting activities ranging from worship to children's activities to the availability of privileged communication when speaking with a chaplain.

# **Cherishing A Partnership**

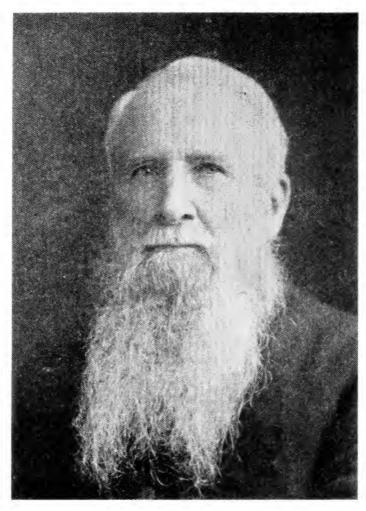
Chaplains' successful use of the local AFRTS stations is often a result of their pastoral concern and understanding of AFRTS personnel and their mission. AFRTS is chartered to provide an uncensored representation of what is available over-the-air in the U.S. Therefore AFRTS must air certain songs, videos and programs—that some may find morally questionable—when they reach a certain level of popularity Stateside. Interestingly, this same policy provides equal access for religious shows that some very vocal non-believers have found offensive. When we criticize AFRTS—without first knowing the constraints under which it operates globally and locally—we are ineffective critics and do little to nurture AFRTS support of us.

As AFRTS celebrates its fiftieth anniversary in 1992, it takes justifiable pride in an impressive record of support for service members and their families overseas. It is a natural partner for the Chaplaincy of each uniformed service. The community that is served by an AFRTS outlet often

expects it always to be there, able to satisfy everyone's needs through a single channel or frequency. It is expected to be all things to all people in their times of trial and separation from home. Perhaps chaplains, more than most can empathize with such inflated expectations and realize both the rewards and challenges inherent in trying to meet them. Chaplains have shared in the AFRTS world from its beginning and we can continue to support each other in ever-new and creative ways today, as well as in the years to come.

# AFRTS RELIGIOUS PROGRAMMING SCHEDULE FOR 1992

WINTER QUARTER AM RADIO	SPRING QUARTER AM RADIO	SUMMER QUARTER AM RADIO '	FALL QUARTER AM RADIO
Baptist Hour	Banners of Faith	Haven of Rest	Protestant Hour
Let God Love You	Hour of Decision	In Touch	Wonderful Words of Life
Herald of Christian Science	East of Eden	Open Door	The Bottom Line
Lift Your Heart	Master Control	Lift Your Heart	Master Control
Roller Coaster	Spin 180 (55 min)	> continued	> continued
In the "I" Production	Spin 180	> continued	> continued
Love on the Rock	> continued	> continued	> continued
CrossCurrents	> continued	The Gospel Greats	> continued
FM RADIO	FM RADIO	FM RADIO	FM RADIO
20 The Countdown Magazine	> continued	> continued	> continued
White Heat	> continued	> continued	> continued
The Urban Christian Countdown	> continued	-> continued	> continued
Amen Corner	> continued	-> continued	> continued
TELEVISION	TELEVISION	TELEVISION	TELEVISION
The Hour of Power	Benjamin	The Hour of Power	Benjamin
The Jesuit Journal	Lifestyle Magazine	Voices of Faith	> continued
Real Videos (55 min)	> continued	Fire By Nite	Studio 7/700 Club
Gerbert	Our Friends on Wooster Square	Animated Stories from the New Testament	Gerbert



Chaplain M. L. Haney, 1904

# A Song of Courage: Chaplain (Colonel) M.L. Haney and the Congressional Medal of Honor

John W. Brinsfield

''...one hundred muskets were fired at my person.''

Chaplain Haney, Atlanta, Georgia

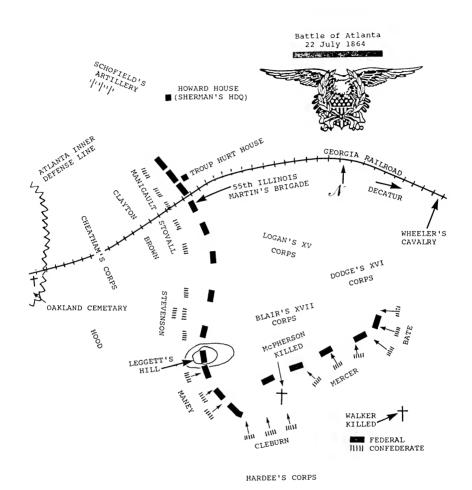
22 July 1864

Chaplain Milton L. Haney surveyed his regiment's position uneasily. Posted two and a half miles northeast of Atlanta along the Georgia Railroad, the soldiers of the 55th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, U.S. Army, soaked their shirts with sweat as they dug their shovels into the red Georgia clay. Under a scorching July sun the men built firing steps into the bases of trenches they had occupied that morning. The officers said the infantry must always "improve their positions," a fancy West Point term for piling up tons of dirt. Yet if the rebels attacked, it would be without warning. A ton of dirt would save lives; and in the balance, sweat was cheap.

Some of the men called this part of Georgia "God's country" because only God would live here, God and a skinny chicken to keep Him company. In reality there were 48,000 Confederate soldiers out there somewhere keeping God company as well. It was the job of the infantry to prepare their positions in case the rebels charged, screaming from the woods.

Chaplain Haney took his turn at the shovel, encouraging the men by singing hymns that he knew by heart from his tiny Methodist hymn book. At thirty-nine years of age Haney was fifteen years older than most of the men. He was the most popular officer in the regiment. He had served in the Army initially as a captain of infantry even though he was an ordained Methodist

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minister. In 1862 the regiment elected him as their chaplain. Haney remained "fully satisfied" with that position even after he was elected Colonel of the 55th Illinois in November of 1863 for his heroism at Vicksburg and Chattanooga. In June of 1864 he turned the command of the regiment over to his Lieutenant-Colonel, Jacob M. Augustine, though the men insisted he keep his honorary rank of Colonel which reflected their esteem and affection for him. Haney was content to be a full-time chaplain whatever his rank.

As part of Colonel James S. Martin's Brigade, Brigadier General Morgan L. Smith's Division of the Federal XV Corps, the 55th Illinois Volunteers occupied key ground in Major General William T. Sherman's plan to cut the major railroads leading into Atlanta. Sherman had amassed more than 106,000 Federal troops in three armies, more than General George Meade had commanded at Gettysburg, to put Atlanta and Confederate General John B. Hood's 48,700 rebels in a vise.<sup>2</sup>

Sherman positioned the Army of the Cumberland, commanded by Major General George H. Thomas, and the Army of the Ohio, commanded by Major General John M. Schofield, north of the city. Major General James B. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee, comprised of the XV, XVI and XVII Corps, marched east to the line that was perpendicular to the Georgia Railroad. Atlanta, "The Gate City of the South" and the transportation hub for Confederate supplies, was thus threatened on in the north and east by Sherman's forces.

#### The Best Defense of the City

Many of the 10,000 citizens of Atlanta had already left the city before Sherman arrived. The foundry, railroad depot, and warehouses bustled with activity as the Confederates brought in seventy boxcars of ammunition for distribution and improved their ten-mile circumference of breastworks, redoubts, cannon emplacements and rifle pits which constituted Atlanta's inner defense line.<sup>3</sup>

Confederate General John B. Hood, however, was not interested in passive defense. Such strategy had not worked at Vicksburg in July of 1863, nor did Hood think that it would work at Atlanta in July of 1864. President Jefferson Davis expected Hood to drive the Yankee invaders out of Georgia and that meant aggressive action.

To accomplish this gargantuan task, Hood had three corps of about 12,000 infantry each commanded by Lieutenant General William Hardee, Lieutenant General A.P. Stewart, and Major General Benjamin F. Cheatham. The cavalry of 10,000 troops, divided into three divisions, was commanded by Lieutenant General Joseph Wheeler.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>M. L. Haney, *The Story of My Life* (Normal, Illinois: Published by the Author, 1904), p. 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (New York, Da Capo Press, 1984), v. II, p. 24; and Elizabeth H. McCallie, *The Atlanta Campaign* (Atlanta: Atlanta Historical Society, 1938) p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Elizabeth H. McCallie, *The Atlanta Campaign*, p. 19.

In the evening of July 21, General Hood sent Hardee's Corps, comprised of four divisions, on a night march from their Atlanta entrenchments around Major General McPherson's left flank while Cheatham's Corps of three divisions prepared for a frontal assault. The coordinated attack was to begin at daylight on July 22 with Hardee striking McPherson's left rear while Cheatham struck his center. Wheeler's cavalry would attack the Federal rear from Decatur in the east along the Georgia Railroad. Two-thirds of Hood's army, 30,000 Confederates, would be matched against 31,000 Federals, most within their breastworks. Hood hoped that his surprise attack would be successful before McPherson could be reinforced by Schofield's 13,000 troops ten miles away.

As the Confederate soldiers moved into their march positions, General Hood reportedly ordered whiskey barrels to be opened so that the boys might fill their canteens.<sup>4</sup> This was to be their last battle. They would "drive the Yanks out of the country," and celebrate as they had at Chickamauga the previous September when many of the same Confederate troops had driven Major General William S. Rosencrans' 64,000 Union "blue-bellies" out of the state.

At dawn on July 22 General Hood took his position near Cheatham's Corps to listen for the opening guns of his flanking attack. Five hours crept by without word from Hardee. The four Confederate divisions marching east around McPherson had become lost in the dark and then bogged down in a swamp. Major General W.H.T. Walker, the lead Division Commander, threatened to shoot the guides and then insisted on proceeding along a route the guides warned him not to take. As General Walker rode his horse up a slight hill, he put his field glasses to his eyes to see what lay ahead. A Union picket fired from the woods to his front, and General Walker pitched from his horse mortally wounded. Major General Hugh Mercer, succeeding the dead General Walker, formed two divisions on line and ordered a charge into McPherson's left flank.

#### The Flames of Hell Turned Loose

At General Sherman's headquarters in the Howard House, approximately three miles from the attack, Major General James B. McPherson was discussing with General Sherman his artillery emplacements intended for the shelling of Atlanta. Shortly after noon they heard cannon fire from the southeast. Sherman recalled McPherson's reaction:

I asked him what it meant. We took my pocket compass and by noting the direction of the sound, we became satisfied that the firing was too far to our own left rear to be explained by known facts, and he hastily called for his horse... $^6$ 

McPherson galloped past the Georgia Railroad toward his left flank, dispatching his staff officers, one after the other, to order the reserve

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>M. L. Haney, The Story of My Life, p. 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>William Key, *The Battle of Atlanta and the Georgia Campaign* (Atlanta: Peachtree Publishers, 1981), p. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>William T. Sherman, Memoirs, v. II, p. 76.

brigades of the XV Corps to reinforce his flank. When McPherson reached the wooded rear of the XVII Corps, he ran into a Confederate skirmish line. The skirmishers directed him to surrender. He tried to turn his horse to escape, but they shot him out of the saddle. Within the first hour of the battle, a Confederate division commander and a Union army commander were dead.

As the Federal troops of the XVII Corps on the left swung around to meet the attack from Walker's (Mercer's) Confederates, Major General Patrick Cleburne ordered his Confederate division to attack the Federals in their right rear. For two hours the Union soldiers fought front and rear against the attackers, surviving six charges against their earthworks, three from either direction. Private Sam R. Watkins of Company H, 1st Tennessee Infantry Regiment, charged the Union lines and recalled a vivid scene:

We advanced to the attack on Cleburne's immediate left. Cleburne himself was leading us in person, so that we would not fire upon his men, who were then inside the Yankee line. I heard him say, "Follow me, boys."

We rushed forward up the steep hillsides, the seething fires of ten thousand muskets and small arms, and forty pieces of cannon hurled right into our very faces, scorching and burning our clothes, and hands, and faces...and piling the ground with our dead and wounded almost in heaps. It seemed that the hot flames of hell were turned loose in all their fury...

Cleburne's men gave one long, loud cheer and, bayonet to bayonet, sword to sword, drove the Yankees from their first line. Watkins saw twenty battle flags fall on the field while cannon balls ripped open soldiers and shot-gutted horses rolled on the bodies of the dead. Blood gathered in pools, and in some instances made streams which coursed down the slippery clay hill.

Two miles north of McPherson's flank, at the Georgia Railroad, Chaplain Haney listened intently to the thunder of the artillery on his left. He noted that "the musketry was simply terrific," but there was nothing to do but listen until new orders were issued. For four hours, from noon until four o'clock, the battle raged. Units from the XVI Corps hurried by the men of the 55th Illinois to reinforce the crumbling Union flank, while an ambulance bearing General McPherson's body wound slowly up the road to Sherman's headquarters.

Initially there was some confusion among the Federal officers. Martin's brigade, of which the 55th Illinois was a part, was ordered to pull out of the line and march to Decatur, four miles away, where General Wheeler was attacking the Federal wagon trains. Major General John A. Logan, succeeding McPherson, countermanded that order late in the afternoon and sent Martin's brigade back to its earlier position on the left of the railroad.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Sam R. Watkins, "Co. Aytch" A Confederate Soldier's Memoirs (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>M. L. Haney, The Story of My Life, p. 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Robert U. Johnson (ed.) Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York: Thomas Yoseloff Inc., 1956) v. IV, p. 329.

#### The Center Line Breaks

As the first Confederate attack bogged down on the Union left at about four o'clock, Hood finally committed his second corps under General Cheatham to attack the center of the Federal line. Leading the attack down the Georgia Railroad was Manigault's Brigade of five South Carolina and Alabama regiments on the left and Stovall's Brigade of six Georgia regiments on the right. In front of Stovall's Brigade were two Federal units, the 57th Ohio Infantry Regiment and Chaplain Haney's 55th Illinois, whose soldiers had put down their shovels to take up their rifles and bayonets.

Chaplain Haney recalled that as the order came for battle, he could not see far into the woods to his front. Suddenly three lines of rebel soldiers, six men deep, the 1st, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, and 52nd Georgia regiments of Stovall's Brigade advanced at quick time. Haney saw a musket lying on the ground. He normally did not carry arms, but the Confederates would not exempt chaplains in the attack. Haney decided, in self-defense, that his marksmanship should supplement his prayers. He picked up the weapon and stepped into the trenches with Lieutenant Eichelberger's company of the 55th:

For the first time in the war we were behind breastworks and the men had an idea that no force could drive them. When the enemy came in sight a terrible fire of musketry scattered them at once and they were forced to disappear.<sup>11</sup>

The Confederate attack had not failed so quickly, however, for Stovall's men had merely shifted around the Illinois regiment's right flank where the 57th Ohio was trying to hold the railroad cut against them. Chaplain Haney saw the shift in the Confederate advance, but did not realize that the 57th Ohio could not maintain its position:

When the enemy disappeared an order came to fire at "right oblique," so we kept up an incessant fire. While one man stepped up on the step and fired, his mate stepped down into the ditch and loaded. When loading my gun I faced northward and to my surprise the 57th Ohio was retreating... I thought when that comes down to the right of my regiment it will stop; but lo, when they were gone our right behind it gave way, and I began to command them to stand. 12

Soon Chaplain Haney, Lieutenant Eichelberger, and one soldier were all that remained in the breastworks to the left of the railroad. Stovall's Brigade overran the remaining trenches of the 55th Illinois and the 57th Ohio without difficulty and poured a murderous fire into the retreating Federals. Chaplain Haney wrote that Eichelberger "roared like a wild man" before he "broke into tears and wept like a child" as they withdrew through Confederate fire as thick as hail. 13

One Confederate brigade, Manigault's, drove through the XV Corps line on the right of the railroad and seized Captain Francis DeGress's battery of artillery at the Troup Hurt House, a Federal signal station.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>*Ibid*. p. 290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>M. L. Haney, The Story of My Life, p. 202.

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>Ibid$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 203.

Withdrawing Union troops began shooting the horses to keep the Confederates from pulling the cannon further behind their lines. The horses screamed and plunged in their traces as .58 caliber minnie balls slammed into their shoulders and necks. The fire of 2,000 muskets from both sides cut down men, horses, and brush as would a scythe until the wounded and dead carpeted the ground for a hundred yards in every direction.

#### The Counterattack: Pay Back with Interest

From his headquarters at the Howard House overlooking the Federal XV Corps line, General Sherman personally directed some twenty cannon brought forward from Schofield's artillery units to fire over the heads of his troops into the left flank of the attacking Confederates. One of Sherman's staff officers saw a bullet glance past Sherman's cheek as he ordered his guns trained on the enemy. "Ha!" Sherman reportedly exclaimed, "A close shaving-we'll pay back that compliment. Fire!" 14

As Sherman's artillery raked the Confederates from the left, General John Logan led Wood's Division, Lightburn's Division and Mersy's Brigade of the XVI Corps to re-establish the Federal line to the right of the railroad where Manigault had broken through. Brigadier General Charles R. Woods, who commanded the first division, recalled that with this mass of troops moving against the rebels, "in less than fifteen minutes I had retaken DeGress's battery and driven the enemy from their rifle pits as far as the railroad." <sup>15</sup>

As Logan moved forward, Martin's Brigade began to rally on the left. Chaplain Haney recalled the counterattack:

Having gone through the brush perhaps thirty rods, a group of the scattered men began to gather around us and Eichelberger insisted that we return and retake the works. The men said they would not go unless I sanctioned it, and now our duty seemed plain. We fell into a thin line and the farther we went the faster, till suddenly coming into the clearing, we were face to face with a thousand rebels between us and our works, only about twenty steps away!<sup>16</sup>

Haney had not more than forty men in his "thin line" but they fought back fiercely. A few feet from Chaplain Haney, Lieutenant Eichelberger, the company commander, was shot though the head. Haney was the only officer left in his little group, yet he still refused to quit. Some of his men fell wounded or dying; a few were captured fighting with their fists when they ran out of ammunition. Haney later recalled:

As I turned after firing it was said by a cool-headed sergeant who was looking on, that one hundred muskets were fired at my person. It may have been less, but the brush was mowed to the left and right by rebel bullets and by a miracle my life was preserved. A voice went through me, assuring me that no rebel bullet should touch me...<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1932) p. 386.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Robert U. Johnson (ed.) Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, v. IV, p. 330.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>M. L. Haney, The Story of My Life, p. 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 204.

Suddenly, to Haney's rear, seven regiments of Martin's Brigade, re-formed and led in person by Haney's brigade commander, Colonel James S. Martin, emerged from the woods and slopes to meet the rebels in the trenches which they had occupied earlier that day. Chaplain Haney's thin line of heroes had bought time for Colonel Martin to rally his men.

The Confederates were now caught in an irresistible crossfire between Martin's troops attacking four deep in front and Sherman's seething artillery, pounding into their left flank. There was no hope of receiving reinforcements much less of holding the trenches. Smoke from thousands of rifles, muskets, and cannon covered the battlefield as the Confederates withdrew to Atlanta's inner defenses. Haney wrote that the rebels "did go out in haste before the sun went down and we were again in possession." As his second major attack failed, General Hood wrote cryptically, "A heavy enfilade fire forced Cheatham to abandon the works he had captured." 19

# Counting the Cost

During the night of July 22, the Union burial parties found 2,482 Confederate dead in front of their trenches. The known Confederate casualties, dead, wounded, missing and captured, totaled 5,237. General Hood had lost one-sixth of his best soldiers. His hopes for a great victory at Atlanta were gone with the wind of battle.

General Sherman reported the Union casualties at 3,521, killed, wounded and missing. Sherman felt the loss of each of his soldiers, but McPherson's death in particular grieved him deeply. As the tears ran down into his dusty beard, Sherman's eyes turned almost black as he thought of the revenge his soldiers would wreak. The South would pay dearly for the death of his friend.<sup>20</sup>

Chaplain Haney worked for eight hours that night and into the morning ministering to the wounded and dying, both Confederate and Union. One soldier who had been shot through the stomach was dying but still conscious. He asked Chaplain Haney to tell him "some words" whereby he could be saved. Chaplain Haney shared the Gospel as he believed it, and then quietly sang an old revival hymn, a song of courage and victory for the dying man:

Grace's store is always free Drooping souls to gladden Jesus calls, come unto me Weary, heavy laden

Though your sins like mountains rise Rise and reach to heaven Soon as you on Him rely All shall be forgiven

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>Ibid.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>John B. Hood, Advance and Retreat (New Orleans: Hood Orphan Memorial Fund, 1880) p. 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>William T. Sherman, *Memoirs*, v. II, p. 83; and Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet*, pp. 385-386.

Streaming mercy, how it flows, Now I know, I feel it, Half has never yet been told Yet I want to tell it.

Jesus' blood hath healed my wounds O the wondrous story I was lost, but now am found Glory! Glory! Glory!<sup>21</sup>

The soldier had closed his eyes while Haney sang, but at the last verse he opened them and said simply, "Chaplain, I have found Him." Then his spirit went up to God and his last battle was over.<sup>22</sup>

In the Battle of Atlanta the 55th Illinois lost so many officers and noncommissioned officers that it ceased to be an effective unit. Chaplain Haney was sent back to Illinois to recruit for the regiment, but was mustered out when General Sherman took Savannah in December. Haney took a pastorate in La Salle, Illinois in the fall of 1865 and began a thirty-one year career as a pastor and evangelist.

#### Reflections on Ministry

On November 3, 1896, Congress awarded Chaplain Milton L. Haney, formerly of the 55th Illinois Infantry Regiment, the Congressional Medal of Honor for rendering heroic service at Atlanta, Georgia, "in retaking the Federal works which had been captured by the enemy" on July 22, 1864. The Republican Congressmen always seemed eager to make such awards in election years, but Haney virtually ignored his. Haney did not mention the Medal in his autobiography which he published in 1904. He was a humble person, more interested in his ministry for the Lord than in his Congressional Medal of Honor, no matter how richly he deserved it.

Haney did spend some time toward the end of his life thinking about the two years he had served as an Army chaplain in some of the fiercest battles of the Civil War. A short chapter in his autobiography entitled "The Duties of a Chaplain" reflects some of his conclusions in his own words:

- 1. The value of prior military experience was incalculable. "It can hardly be realized how great a blessing it was to me as a chaplain to have first been an officer in the line. In my five months of experience as a Captain... I saw the wrongs perpetrated against the men by their officers and disapproved of them. This gave me power with all [the soldiers] in the line, so an attempt to put me down was a serious affair to any officer, for he knew in so doing he would bring [upon himself] the wrath of the men. So I fearlessly did many things in the chaplaincy I never could have done had I not gained these advantages. Hence to the end I was free to follow my own conscience, and none dared to meddle with me."<sup>23</sup>
  - 2. Chaplains who were merely preachers and not pastors were usually

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>M. L. Haney, The Story of My Life, p. 209.

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>Ibid.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 142-144.

failures. "There was a class of preachers who were not a success at home who secured the position [of chaplain] and failed. A chaplain who would remain at headquarters and only be seen by the men in connection with a perfunctory "Divine Service" amount to but little. An army in motion, as was Sherman's rarely gives a chance for a set sermon. Hence the chaplain who depends wholly upon his preaching seems to be an idler, and easily gets the displeasure of the men."<sup>24</sup>

- 3. Chaplains need common sense, Divine love, moral courage, and adaptation to personal contact with soldiers of many backgrounds. "Divine love ruling in the human breast always produces a real interest in the weal of others. A chaplain who is all head and no heart is a miserable makeshift. He must be able to put himself alongside men of a great variety of temperaments and in a variety of circumstances." <sup>25</sup>
- 4. Above all, chaplains must be watchful for opportunities to help and relieve suffering wherever and whenever possible. "There is a great deal of suffering in an army, especially when in the field. Men get sick or are wounded, and the best treatment that can be given, in many cases, would be looked on with horror in the home life. The presence of a wise chaplain filled with the sympathies of Jesus in such cases is as an oasis in the desert. Besides all this, the spiritual interests of a thousand men are on his soul, and so many in death, on field and in camp, who can be made to see Christ before they go! It will give me ages of comfort, the memories of what God did for me and through me in those years of war." 26

Haney wrote of one incident after the Battle of Ezra Church, near Atlanta, which seemed to summarize by personal example, some of the attributes of adaptation, courage and love he thought chaplains should possess:

After the third assault that afternoon the enemy retired, leaving their wounded in our hands. I hastened to the front. At the root of a tree nearby lay three wounded and two dead Confederates. The wounded boys looked wildly at me as I approached them, having heard terrible things about the "Yanks," but I quieted their fears by assuring them of the best care we could give them. At this stage in the war they died from wounds through which our men would live. Their food was insufficient and their power of endurance crippled by it. I wept more than once when burying the brave boys, on finding nothing in their haversacks but a little unbolted corn meal...the next day I was at the general hospital and some distance away I saw a Confederate holding up his hand...he asked if I was not the man who talked with him at the tree where he was wounded. I said, "Yes." He expressed a strong desire that I talk and pray with him. Up to that time he was a Christian and a Methodist class leader, but from the day he entered the army till now God seemed to have left him. I told him I was a Methodist preacher, and we both wept. While praying, the Lord saved him. He was wondrously blest from that hour...<sup>27</sup>

To Haney neither the color of a man's skin nor the color of his uniform was as important as his desire to find God. Haney believed that if all human

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 210.

beings could accept grace, through faith in Jesus Christ as their personal Savior, wars and conflicts would cease and God's people would be sanctified for companionship with Him for all eternity.

#### The Measure of a Soldier of God

Chaplain Milton L. Haney died in Illinois after a ministry of more than fifty-seven years. Born on a farm and educated in a log school house, he served eleven churches in Illinois and then, after the war, led evangelistic work for another thirty-one years in Iowa, Indiana, Maryland, Oregon, Washington, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, and Ontario, Canada. He described himself as a preacher of "the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian holiness." It was said that he led not less than 20,000 people to a profession of faith in Christ without distinction as to male or female, black or white. North or South. <sup>29</sup>

Yet to Chaplain Haney's colleagues in the old Grand Army of the Republic, he was much more than a preacher or an evangelist. He was an example of the finest kind of Christian soldier; patient in suffering, heroic in battle, gentle toward the dying and wounded of both sides, modest in victory, and constant in his dedication to the high calling of winning souls for Christ. On the last page of his autobiography, written in his eightieth year, he penned his own epitaph:

Be it known by any who may read this story when the hand that wrote it is palsied: there was one heart which did not cease its efforts to save men, till it ceased its beating.<sup>30</sup>

In the heroic performance of his ministry, above and beyond the call of duty, and with total disregard to his personal safety and comfort, Chaplain (Colonel) Milton L. Haney reflected great credit upon himself, the 55th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment of Martin's Brigade, XV Corps, and the Chaplaincy of the United States Army.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 397.

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# On Foreign Soil:

# The Tragedy of a Civilianized Chaplaincy In the Mexican-American War (1846-1848)

Charles W. Hedrick

#### Introduction

During the Mexican-American War U.S. expeditionary forces initially deployed with no chaplains in the field. During this period, the Army Chaplaincy was both civilianized and decentralized. Both of these features directly contributed to the virtual criminal neglect of the religious needs of soldiers, and the denial of their rights to free exercise of religion. The absence of professional Army chaplains also contributed, in my judgement in large part, to the lack of essential humane services for the soldiers who fought in the war. The experience of soldiers in the Mexican-American war is a graphic validation of the 1985 appellate court decision affirming chaplains for the U.S. Army:

We find that the more appropriate standard of relevancy to our national defense and reasonable necessity is met by the great majority of the Army's existing chaplaincy services. The purpose and effect of the program is to make religion, religious education, counseling and religious facilities available to military personnel and their families under circumstances where the practice of religion would otherwise be denied as a practical matter to all or a substantial number. As a result, the morale of our soldiers, their willingness to serve, and efficiency of the Army as an instrument for our national defense rests in substantial part on the military chaplaincy, which is vital to our Army's functioning (Joel Katcoff versus John O. Marsh, Jr., Secretary of the Army (755 F2d 233 (1985) 237).

# Historical Background

From 1818 to 1838 there was only one Regular Army chaplain in the United States Army, and that was the chaplain assigned to West Point, who by

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statute also served as Professor of Geography and Ethics.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the Army was served by civilian contract clergy, but only at Army posts. They did not serve maneuver regiments and brigades, but rather served "posts," being hired by the Post Council of Administration. The decentralized system that prevailed during this period was largely unofficial, one that succeeded or failed on the initiative of local post commanders.<sup>2</sup> On July 5, 1838, the Congress, responding to public pressure,<sup>3</sup> passed into law legislation that legalized this unofficial system that had existed in the Army for twenty years.<sup>4</sup>

From 1838 to the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico on 24 April 1846,<sup>5</sup> the status of the Army Chaplaincy was little better, particularly in comparison to the active and successful ministry of the modern professional Army Chaplain, and scarcely improved from the situation that prevailed in the previous twenty years. The Army was authorized twenty civilian clergymen to be hired by Post Councils of Administration "to officiate as chaplain" and "also perform the duties of schoolmaster at such posts" (italics mines).<sup>6</sup>

But this does not mean that there were actually twenty chaplains serving the 10,381 officers and men<sup>7</sup> that comprised the Regular Army in

<sup>1</sup>See C. W. Hedrick, "The Emergence of the Chaplaincy as a Professional Army Branch: A Survey and Summary of Selected Issues," *Military Chaplains Review* (Winter, 1990) 24.

<sup>2</sup>See the report by Herman A. Norton about the scandalous situation, *Struggling for Recognition: The United States Army Chaplaincy* (5 vols.: Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1977) 2.43-61.

<sup>3</sup>Norton, United States Army Chaplaincy, 2.47-49.

<sup>4</sup>Hedrick, "The Emergence of the Chaplaincy," 24.

<sup>5</sup>See the report of President James K. Polk to the two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the second session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, House of Representatives Executive Document 4, December 8, 1846. Hostilities began when a detachment of dragoons became engaged with a large force of Mexican troops in which sixteen dragoons were killed (p. 46). The sequence of events that led up to this engagement was as follows. Texas was annexed to the Union on 1 March 1845 (p. 17). Major General Zachary Taylor advanced to Corpus Christi, Texas with a rather small force comprised of two regiments of infantry and a company of dragoons (29th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives Executive Document 60, p. 81) at the order of President Polk in August of 1845. On 11 March 1846 he moved west, reaching the east bank of the Rio Grande opposite Mexican troop concentrations at Matamoras on 28 March (p. 15). On 4 April the commander of the Mexican Army on the Texan frontier was ordered by General Paredes, Military Dictator of Mexico, to attack the U.S. force (p. 16). On 13 May Congress authorized the President to raise a Volunteer force not exceeding 50,000 troops (p. 47). The President in turn requested the states of Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Texas for 26 regiments; and from the District of Columbia and Maryland he requested a battalion: 26,000 to serve for twelve months, or to the end of the war (p. 47).

<sup>6</sup>Public Statutes at Large V (25th Congress, Session II, Chap. 162, Sec 18). Two days after this piece of legislation (July 7, 1838) Congress apparently found that they had "opened a can of worms" by not placing a limit on the number of posts that could hire a chaplain/schoolmaster and they then limited to twenty the number of posts authorized to hire a chaplain (See Public Statutes at Large V [25th Congress, Session II, Chap. 194]).

<sup>7</sup>See House of Representatives Executive Document 4 (29th Congress, Session II) pp. 62-63. This was the aggregate reported in December 1846. By November 1847 with new legislation due to the War with Mexico the Regular Army had risen to 30,350 (Senate Executive Document 1 [30th Congress, Session I]) pp. 72-75.

1846. In February 1847 during a discussion in the U.S. Senate on the issue of chaplain's coverage it was assumed that the Army had twelve civilian chaplains (not counting the one Regular Army chaplain at West Point).8 Senator John A. Dix (New York) reported accurately that Congress had authorized the employment of twenty chaplain/schoolmasters to serve Army posts throughout the country. He was, however, incorrect in his assessment of the actual state of the chaplaincy at the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico. He was correct that War Department regulations required that when a garrison was withdrawn from a post the pay and emoluments of the chaplain hired by the Post Council of Administration would stop. 9 He further reported that, after war broke out with Mexico, six garrisons were posted elsewhere. Hence to judge from his reported comments Senator Dix was assuming that there were fourteen civilian clergy serving the Army as chaplain/schoolmaster at posts throughout the country. He reports that two of these posts were vacant, and that would then leave a total of twelve civilian contract clergy to serve the expanding Army in 1847.

Actually, although it had been approved by Congress, the U.S. Army had never authorized twenty posts to employ chaplains! Initially (August 18, 1838) the Army only approved fifteen posts to employ chaplains, and as late as 1848 never authorized more than sixteen posts to employ chaplains. <sup>10</sup> Hence, if Senator Dix was correct about the movement of troops from six garrisons, and the two positions being vacant, there were at the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico only eight civilian chaplains available to serve selected posts of the entire Regular Army! But, of course, even that is somewhat misleading, since the eight chaplains would also have doubled as schoolmasters, and were not able—by Army policy—to follow the troops into the field.

In the midst of the buildup of the Regular Army for war with Mexico, troop strength went from an aggregate of 8,616 in November 1845 to 12,216

<sup>8</sup>The Congressional Globe (29th Congress, Session II), p. 346 (discussion of 6 February 1847), and Norton, *The United States Army Chaplaincy*, 2.65.

<sup>9</sup>See War Department General Order 33, Adjutant General's Office, 1841. This particular publication was not available to me, but its content was summarized in the Subject Index of the General Orders of the War Department from January 1, 1809 to December 31, 1860 (compiled by J.C. Allen; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 34. This termination of the chaplain's services, however, did not represent the intent of Congress but rather it was due to the sloppy formulation of their legislation, particularly in United States Statutes at Large (25th Congress, Session II, Chap. 194, part "second") where they specify that chaplains are limited to twenty posts (i.e., they do not serve troops, but rather posts). War Department General Order 33 (1841) is the Army's interpretation of that legislation. It is clear from Congressional legislation of February 11, 1847 (see note 12 below) that they wanted the chaplains with the troops.

<sup>10</sup>War Department General Orders 29 (1838), 33 (1841), 55 (1841), 5 (1842), 13 (1845), 66 (1848). In 1848, however, four chaplains were authorized to posts "to be established" in Oregon and Texas. This would have brought the number of chaplains in 1848 to 20, if the positions were filled. It is worth noting that after the Congress raised the number of posts authorized chaplains (March 2, 1849) to 30, the Army approved 20 existing posts for chaplains, with nine to be allowed at Posts "to be established" in Oregon, California, New Mexico, and Texas (General Order 16, March 19, 1849).

in December 1846 to 30,866 in November 1847.<sup>11</sup> And Congress suddenly dramatically reversed itself with regard to civilian contract clergy. Whereas Congress had formally legislated that chaplains were hired by and to serve posts, a fact that the Army Adjutant General had taken literally and declared the position of the chaplain to be vacated when the Regular Army garrison that employed them was posted elsewhere (see note 9 above), on Feb 11, 1847 Congress voted into law the following legislation regarding Chaplains:<sup>12</sup>

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That, during the war with Mexico, it shall be lawful for the officers composing the councils of administration of the several regiments constituting a brigade, either regular or volunteer, in the service of the United States, to employ some proper person to officiate as chaplain to such brigade; and the person so employed, shall, upon the certificate of the commander of the brigade, receive for his services seven hundred and fifty dollars, one ration, and forage for one horse, per annum: Provided, That the chaplains now attached to the regular army, and stationed at different military posts, may, at the discretion of the Secretary of War, be required to repair to the army in Mexico, whenever a majority of the men at the posts were they are respectively stationed shall have left them for service in the field; and should any of said chaplains refuse, or decline to do this, when ordered so to do by the adjutant-general, the office of such chaplain shall be deemed vacant, and the pay and emoluments thereof be stopped.

The new law is really not as clear as it might be and does not cover every contingency. For example, it does not cover what will happen to the chaplain whose employing garrison is posted elsewhere in the event that the chaplain is not ordered by the Adjutant General to accompany the troops into the field (which apparently was the case). But it does speak—though not as eloquently as it might—to the concern of Congress that the troops be accompanied by chaplains into the field. Congress was apparently making the assumption that there was the potential for twenty chaplains to be engaged in ministry to troops in the field on foreign soil. And for Congressmen who thought in terms of one chaplain per regiment, or per brigade, twenty chaplains would have seemed sufficient.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>See note 7 above, and *House of Representative Executive Document* 2 (29th Congress, Session II) p. 220A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Public Statutes at Large IX (29th Congress, Session II, Chap. 8, Sec. 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>And it does appear to be the case that the Chaplains were not ordered into the field. The legislation authorized the Army to attach Chaplains to brigades, but there is no official record that it was ever done extensively by the army. I could find no discussion in the *Congressional Globe* relative to the changes in the law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> House of Representatives Executive Document 4 (29th Congress, Session II) and Senate Executive Document 1 (30th Congress, Session I); see note 7 above.

<sup>15</sup>The Congressional Globe (29th Congress, Session II) p. 346 (Comments by Senator Dix). The size of regiments for the Regular Army differed. In 1846 one regiment of dragoons = 1149 men; one regiment of mounted riflemen = 799 men; one regiment of artillery = 1185 men; one regiment of infantry = 1137 men (House of Representatives Executive Document 4 [29th Congress, Session II] p. 62). In 1847 one regiment of dragoons = 1175 men; one regiment of mounted riflemen = 1181 men; one regiment of artillery = 1425 men; one regiment of infantry = 1144 men; one regiment of voltiguers and foot riflemen = 1151 men (Senate Executive Document 1 [30th Congress, Session I] p. 73). It should be noted that the Army justified the size of its troop force to Congress on the basis of regiments. The brigades were maneuver units whose size was tailored for a given military objective, and hence the size

At the end of 1846 there were only fifteen regiments (plus) in the Regular Army. And even at the end of the build up in December of 1847, there were only twenty-five regiments (plus) in the Regular Army. Of course the irony of the situation is that there were apparently only eight civilian chaplains and only one Regular Army chaplain available to serve Regular Army troops. And even more ironically these nine chaplains were expected to serve troops engaged in combat in the Southwest (in 1846: Regular Army troops = 8,473; Volunteers - 16,511 [total 24,985]; in 1847: Regular Army troops = 21,509; Volunteers - 22,027 [total: 43,576]<sup>17</sup>); as well as a series of Army posts along the Atlantic Seaboard, into the Midwest, and along the Western frontier.

The facts are however, that few Army chaplains saw action with troops in the Mexican-American war. No chaplains went with General Taylor to Mexico in August of 1845;<sup>18</sup> it has been reported that three protestant chaplains served in the war with Volunteer units;<sup>19</sup> and two Catholic priests

of brigades varied. Compare, for example, *Senate Executive Document 1* (30th Congress, Session I) pp. 445-46 with 469-70. In general, however, a brigade was comprised of 3432 to 3994 officers and men, if it was full strength.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>House of Representatives Executive Document 4 (29th Congress, Session II) p. 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Senate Executive Document 1 (30th Congress, Session I) p. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Army policy, made possible by poor legislation, actually *prevented* chaplains going into the field with the troops (see note 6 above). chaplains were hired for service to *posts*, and not to maneuver units (see note 9 above), but apparently Congress had always *intended* that the Army when deployed to the field be accompanied by chaplains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>See Norton, Struggling for Recognition, 2.74-75, and his source F. B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army From its Organization September 29, 1789 to March 2, 1903 (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903) 2.48 and 65: John Powell, Levi Pressly, and W. H. Crenshaw all are reported to have served with the Louisiana infantry. Crenshaw is noted (July 4, 1846) as "Chaplain to the Andrew Jackson Regiment" who "opened the ceremonies with an elegant and appropriate prayer" at Gen. Taylor's Headquarters near Metamoros: T. B. Thorpe, Our Army at Monterrey being a correct Account of the Proceedings and Events which occurred to the Army of Occupation Under the Command of Major General Taylor, From the Time of Leaving Metamoros to the Surrender of Monterrey. With a Description of the Three Days' Battle and the Storming of Monterrey: The Ceremonies Attending the Surrender: Together with the Particulars of the Capitulation (Philadelphia: Cary and Hart, 1847) 13. There were also two Navy Chaplains killed in the war: See C. S. Peterson, Known Military Dead During the Mexican War 1846-48 (privately printed by Clarence Stewart Peterson August 1957) p. 1: Charles H. Alden; p. 91; George W. Latham. There is also a report (August 24, 1847) by Major General Gideon J. Pillow of Tennessee (and President Polk's former law partner) who reported "the patriotic conduct of the pious chaplain of Colonel Clark's Brigade.... The worthy chaplain, besides encouraging the passing soldiers to their work actively set the example...so as to enable the troops to press onward to the assault' (Senate Executive Document 1 [30th Congress, Session I] pp. 339-49). The difficulty with the report is that Colonel Newman S. Clarke was a Regular Army Officer and his Brigade was comprised of regulars under the command of Major General W. J. Worth (see J. D. Eisenhower So Far from God. The U. S. War with Mexico 1846-1848 [New York: Random House, 1989] 307). The solution appears in the letters that Captain E. Kirby Smith wrote to his wife. He reports that on April 30, 1847 Rev. John McCarty was "appointed" as Chaplain of his brigade (the second) commanded by Col. Newman S. Clarke in General Worth's Division: Emma Jerome Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott. Letters of E. Kirby Smith to his Wife (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917); see pages 133, 144-45, 159, 191; and J. D. Eisenhower, So Far From God, 307. It was this same Chaplain who distinguished himself in the battle of San Antonio. This was the only instance of a Regular Army unit having a Chaplain for

had been invited by President Polk "to officiate as chaplains. Although the President [could] not appoint them as chaplains, yet it [was] his wish that they be received in that character..."

# Religion, Politics, and War

It is not really clear why more chaplains were not hired in the Mexican-American War. Clearly President Polk did not believe he had the authority under the law to appoint chaplains for the Regular Army. On two occasions in his diary he makes precisely this observation. Once (14 October 1846) in reply to the request of a Presbyterian Minister, William L. McCalla, who (according to Polk) was upset over Polk's having sent Catholic priests to serve with the Army in Mexico and who himself wanted to be appointed a chaplain in the Army, Polk wrote: "They [i.e., the priests] were not chaplains, that there was no law authorizing the appointment of chaplains for the army.... I told him further that in the Navy where chaplains were

service in Mexico after the law changed on February 11, 1847. McCarty even preached in the Palace in Mexico City on one occasion (September 26, 1847): George W. Hartman, A Private's own Journal: Giving an Account of the Battles in Mexico, under Gen'l Scott, with Descriptive Scenes and a Roll of Company E, 3rd Pa. Regiment, with the Age, Height, Occupation, and Residences of Officers and Men. Also, a Table of Heights and Distances from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico (Greencastle: E. Robinson, 1849) 20. It is reported by W. H. Powell (List of Officers in the Army of the United States from 1779-1900 [New York: Hamersly, 1900] 461) that McCarty served on appointment as a brigade chaplain September 18, 1847 - July 6, 1848. Later he served as chaplain at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri beginning in November of 1848: Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 546. It should also be noted that one of the Priests hired by Polk, Father Rey, distinguished himself in combat at the Battle of Monterrey: B. M. McEniry, American Catholics in the War with Mexico (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America, 1937) 66-67. See Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 214 for Kirby's praise of McCarty's behavior under fire. A Rev. W.H.T. Carnes, probably from the New York Regiment of Volunteers was killed at Vera Cruz on the 28th of March 1847. Whether he was officially hired as a chaplain to the regiment is not certain: George C. Furber, The Twelve Months Volunteer; or, Journal of a Private in the Tennessee Regiment of Cavalry, in the Campaign in Mexico, 1846-7; Comprising Four General Subjects, I. A Soldier's Life in Camp; Amusements; Duties; Hardships; II. A Description of Texas and Mexico As Seen on the March; III. Manners; Customs; Religious Ceremonies of the Mexicans; IV. The Operation of All the Twelve Month Volunteers: Including a Complete History of the War with Mexico. Embellished with Correct Engravings, From Drawings by the Author (Cincinnati: V.P. James, 1857) 556.

<sup>20</sup>Letter from the Secretary of War, W. L. Marcy, to General Taylor, May 29, 1846 as quoted in R. R. Miller, *Shamrock and Sword. The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War* (Norman, OK and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989) 159. Hence these two priests were employed by the government to perform chaplains' duties (see also the discussion in B. M. McEniry, *American Catholics in the War with Mexico*, 51-52. See also p. 157 where she quotes from the Diary of President Polk from Wednesday 14th October, 1846 to the effect that the priests "were not chaplains, that there was no law authorizing the appointment of chaplains for the army, but that they were employees, such as armies often require. . . ." See in particular the published report of Father John McElroy, "Chaplains for the Mexican War—1846," *Woodstock Letters* 15 (1886) 198-202; 16 (1887) 33-39, who publishes the correspondence that shows that Polk believed that the law (July 7, 1838) did not authorize the appointment of Chaplains into the Regular Army.

authorized by law, I had appointed several since I came into office."<sup>21</sup>

And on another occasion (29 July 1847) in discussing a letter that the Rev. Mr. McCalla had written to the newspapers relating to the employment of Catholic priests to serve with the Army, Polk reiterated that he had "told him that by law I had no power to appoint and commission chaplains, but that there were always many employees in an army, such as teamsters, laborers, bearers of dispatches, couriers to bear and bring back information, etc."<sup>22</sup>

And this was also the language used by the Secretary of War, W.L. Marcy, in his letter of employment to Father John McElroy, one of the two Catholic priests employed to serve the Army in Mexico:

It is proper that I should apprize you that the existing laws do not authorize the President to appoint and commission chaplains, but he has authority to employ persons, to perform such duties as appertain to chaplains... when the law authorized the appointment of chaplains, as it formally did, the pay and emoluments were about one thousand or twelve hundred dollars per annum.<sup>23</sup>

Apparently the President and the Secretary of War had in mind an Act of April 24, 1816<sup>24</sup> at which time chaplains were authorized to each brigade of the Army. But this was subsequently abolished in an act of April 14, 1818.<sup>25</sup> It is clear, moreover, that the law current when the Catholic priests were hired to work in Mexico (21 May 1846) and at the time of the Rev. Mr. McCalla's interview with President Polk (14 October 1846) was the law authorizing the employment by Post Councils of Administration of twenty persons (7 July 1838), whose employment ended when a majority of troops assigned to the post which employed the chaplain were moved.<sup>26</sup>

Hence Polk was correct that he could not "appoint" chaplains into the Regular Army, but apparently neither should he have hired chaplains to serve with the Army either, since that authority was vested by law with the Post Councils of Administration. The new law, passed on February 11, 1847 (see above), was dramatically different, however. It did not really affect the President's power to appoint or hire chaplains, but it did create a context in which the President may have influenced the hiring of chaplains for service in the field with the troops. The new law specified that chaplains could be employed to serve brigades; they were to be employed by "officers composing the Councils of Administration of the several regiments constituting a brigade"; and this applied to both Regular and Volunteer units.

The question is why was there not a systematic employment of chaplains to serve with the troops? It is intriguing that President Polk did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>M.M. Quaife, *The Diary of James K. Polk During his Presidency* (4 vols.; Chicago: A.C. McClury, 1910; New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970) 2.189. If Polk is to be believed, McCalla was not motivated by a general concern for the lack of chaplains but by his own desire to be appointed chaplain and his objection to the hiring of Catholic Priests as civilian chaplains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Quaife, The Diary of James K. Polk, 3.104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>John McElroy, "Chaplains for the Mexican War—1846," 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Public statutes at Large III (14th Congress, Session I, Chap. 69, Sec. 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>See Hedrick, "The Emergence of the Chaplaincy," 23-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>See the discussion above.

have more of a sensitivity in this area. He appears to have been a man of personal religious faith and he was certainly regular in his church attendance.<sup>27</sup> But to judge from his diary he had not the slightest awareness of the need for a chaplain's ministry in a combat zone. His stated reasons for the employment of the Catholic priests were purely political. Of his interview with John Hughes, Catholic Bishop of New York, he wrote: "Our object was to procure his aid in disabusing the minds of the Catholic priests and people of Mexico in regard to what they most erroneously supposed to be the hostile designs of the government and people of the U. S. upon the religion and church property of Mexico." <sup>28</sup> If his hiring of the Catholic chaplains was legitimate, whatever his reasons, then he could also have provided for chaplain coverage more systematically.

There also does not appear to have been the slightest concern on the part of the civilian churches to secure chaplains for the troops in Mexico. Polk was certainly open to church delegations and received them frequently,<sup>29</sup> but no mention is made of pressure being brought to bear on him by these groups to provide chaplains for the Army in Mexico. Indeed there seems to have been a general apathy on the part of the civilian churches with regard to chaplains' ministry. Not even those churches that were opposed to the war objected to the lack of chaplains' coverage, but on the other hand, neither did those churches who supported the war call for Congress to provide chaplains for the Army.<sup>30</sup> There is evidence, however, that some churches were concerned with sending missionaries to Mexico along with the Army,<sup>31</sup> but no evidence that they pressed the President or Congress for Army chaplains to accompany the troops into the field.

#### The Status of the Army Chaplaincy During the Mexican-American War

The chaplain was a clergyman hired by a local Army Post through its "Post Council of Administration," to serve the religious needs of the Army post that hired him and also serve as schoolmaster for the soldiers and their families. He held no commission. His relationship to the Army was

<sup>27</sup>See his diary; he attended church virtually every Sunday during his tenure as President; usually he worshipped in Presbyterian Churches; see particularly Quaife, *The Diary of James K. Polk*, 4.372-73.

<sup>28</sup>Quaife, *The Diary of James K. Polk*, 1.408; see also 409. The same position is restated to McCalla 2.188-89; 3.104 and later to Zachary Taylor from W. L. Marcy, Secretary of War: John McElroy, "Chaplains for the Mexican War—1846," 201. See in particular the letter of W. L. Marcy to Zachary Taylor dated July 9, 1846: National Archives, Record Group 107. Confidential and Unofficial Letters sent by the Secretary of War 1814-1847, M7, Book of Letters, p. 131. That the hiring of these Priests was politically motivated appears to have been common knowledge in the combat zone: See Henry William Seaton, *Campaign Sketches of the War with Mexico* (New York: Harper, 1847), 22.

<sup>29</sup>Quaife, The Diary of James K. Polk, 2.429; 3.25-26, 177, 182, 439; 4.163.

<sup>30</sup>I come to this conclusion from the paper by C. S. Ellsworth, "The American Churches and the Mexican War," *American Historical Review* 45 (1940) 301-26. Ellsworth's survey of the literature suggests that the issue (i.e., of the lack of chaplains for the Army) was never raised by the churches.

<sup>31</sup>Ellsworth, "The American Churches and the Mexican War," 305-7.

contractual and temporary.<sup>32</sup> There are frequent inquiries by individuals as well as recommendations of individuals for a "chaplaincy" in the Army<sup>33</sup> sent to the Secretary of War, who referred them to the Adjutant General. The Adjutant General's negative responses to these requests achieve a virtual formulaic quality.<sup>34</sup> The answer is always the same: Post Councils of Administration employ the individual. They selected him for the position based on minimum criteria: i.e., that he "possess the recommendation of the highest ecclesiastical authority of the communion to which he belongs."<sup>35</sup> The Council also established the amount of his salary. The Secretary of War by law only established what posts could be designated as chaplains' posts; and approved the salary of the chaplain that had previously been set by Post Councils of Administration.<sup>36</sup> In fact the Secretary of War could not approve

<sup>32</sup>Note the language "from time to time" in the law: *Public Statutes at Large* V (25th Congress, Session II, Chap. 162, Sec. 18).

<sup>33</sup>For example, Record Group 94. Microfilm 567, Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1882-1860: 1843, Roll 266 (C13); Roll 269 (G44); Roll 271 (J34); Roll 310 (B653), (B728); Roll 333 (B475); Roll 336 (C275); Roll 339 (D136); Roll 340 (E87), (E178); Roll 342 (G174). See also Record Group 94. Microfilm 711, Registers of Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1812-1889: Roll 19, Volume 22, 1846: B533, B653, B728, F201, H318. Roll 20, Volume 23, 1847 with two Supplements: B475, C275, D136, E87, G174, J64, M150, M288, M478, T78, W252, W253; Sup. I: E178, L169, H814.

<sup>34</sup>For example, Record Group 94. Microfilm 565, Letters sent by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1800-1890: Roll 12, Volume 18, p. 57: Letter from R. Jones Adjutant General to the Honorable N. P. Talmadge, U. S. Senator dated March 9, 1842. This letter is typical of the numerous letters sent out by the Adjutant General on the subject of the "appointment" of chaplains in the Army.

Your letter of the 7th inst. to the Secretary of War inclosing the application of the Revd Cornelius Gates for the appointment of chaplain, has been referred to this office; and in reply I respectfully inform you that the law does not vest such appointments in the Executive, but merely authorizes the Council of Administration (composed of the three senior officers on duty at the post) "from time to time, to *employ* such person as they may think proper, to officiate as chaplain, who shall also perform the duties of schoolmaster." In order therefore, that the Revd Mr. Gates may be so employed, it will be necessary that he be chosen by the officers of some military post, who only can make the selection. I respectfully add that there are no vacancies at present.

For other examples of this typical letter of rejection see Microfilm 565, Roll 11, Volume 15, p. 194; Volume 18, p. 86; p. 182; p. 361; Roll 13, Volume 19, p. 15; p. 87; p. 289. I note in the early correspondence shortly after the change of the law in 1838 letters from the Adjutant General used language that implied that the Post Councils "recommended" and the Secretary of War "confirmed." But by 1845 that was clearly not the understanding of the Secretary of War.

<sup>35</sup>Letter from W. L. Marcy, Secretary of War to the Honorable G. W. Jones, Tennessee: Record Group 107. Microfilm 6, Record of the Office of the Secretary of War, Letters sent, Military Affairs, Volume 26, pp. 506-7 dated October 2, 1846.

<sup>36</sup>For example, Record Group 94. Microfilm 565, Letters sent by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1800-1840: Roll 11, Volume 15: p. 87: letter from R. Jones, Adjutant General to Commanding Officer, Ft. Wood, New York Harbor dated December 10, 1838: "The Rates of Compensation recommended by the Council of Administration that chose Mr. Burnett to officiate as chaplain at Ft. Wood, New York Harbor have been approved by the Secretary of War. Mr. Burnett will also officiate at Ft. Columbus, as directed by Special Order No. 84." See also Volume 15, p. 96, 113, 316 and p. 407. P. 43: Letter from R. Jones Adjutant General to CPT. A. Johnston, 5th Infantry, Fort Brady, Mich. dated November 7th 1838. "The appointment of the Revd Abie Bingham as chaplain at Fort Brady announced in your

any funds except on formal receipt of the *proceedings* of the Post Council of Administration.<sup>37</sup>

On February 11, 1847 Congress changed the law relating the chaplains and authorized the Post Councils of Administration of the several regiments comprising a brigade to employ a chaplain and granting the Secretary of War permission to order that "chaplains now attached to the Regular Army and stationed at different military posts... be required to repair to the Army in Mexico, whenever a majority of the men at the posts where they are respectively stationed shall have left them for service in the field."<sup>38</sup> Nothing is said about a limited number of chaplains to be assigned to brigades. Hence it could have been argued that the number of employed chaplains could have equalled the number of brigades in the war!

The Secretary of War, in a letter to Post Master General Johnson dated May 29th, 1847 acknowledges that "neither the President or this Department is authorized to appoint chaplains. The number of post chaplains, now in service is believed to be equal to the number of [viz. authorized?] posts garrisoned by troops." It does not appear that the Secretary of War is assuming any responsibility for monitoring the status of chaplains on the Posts. In a letter (June 7, 1847) to the Rev. Thomas Edwards, West Point, New York he says about the Post chaplains: "It is believed that the number of post chaplains, now in service, is equal to the number of [viz. authorized?] posts garrisoned by troops."

What I have found by working through the Returns of the Military Posts, Rolls of Volunteers, and the correspondence of the Adjutant General and Secretary of War available to me in microfilm form in the National Archives is that there were twelve civilian chaplains who served during the war (April 24, 1846-October 19, 1847) on their assigned posts, and one chaplain was hired to serve a brigade in the field in Mexico.

communication of the 1st of October agreeable to regulations has been approved by the Secretary of War." This is apparently a careless response from the Adjutant General. See in particular Roll 13, Volume 19, p. 87: Letter from Adjutant General R. Jones to Honorable R. S. Gamble HR dated January 23, 1843: "... and all the authority the Secretary of War can exercise over such appointments is to designate the posts to which chaplains may be allowed and to fix the rate of compensation"; also p. 214 and p. 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Which makes the President's action highly irregular, if not illegal. Record Group 94. Microfilm 565, Letters Sent by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1800-1890, Roll 13, Volume 18, p. 437. See also War Department, Adjutant General's Office, General Order 33 dated July 12, 1845 for a description (Article XXXVII) of the Post Councils of Administration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Public Statutes at Large IX (29th Congress, Session II, Chap. 8, Sec. 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Record Group 107. Microfilm 6, Records of the office of the Secretary of War, Letters Sent, Military Affairs, Volume 27, p. 350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Record Group 107. Microfilm 6, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, Letters Sent, Military Affairs, Volume 27, p. 362.

NAME	POST	DENOMINATION	BEGINNING DATE
			OF EMPLOYMENT
Ezekiel G. Gear <sup>41</sup>	Ft. Snelling, Iowa	Protestant Episcopal	April 30, 1839
Leander Ker <sup>42</sup>	Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas	Presbyterian	Sept. 29, 1842
Daniel McManus <sup>43</sup>	Ft. Gibson, Okla.	Protestant Episcopal	Sept. 1, 1845
William Scull <sup>44</sup>	Ft. Washita, Okla.		(resigns)
			Dec. 15, 1847
Henry Axtel <sup>45</sup>	Ft. Brooke, Fla.	Presbyterian	May 3, 1843
Mark L. Chevers <sup>46</sup>	Ft. Monroe, Va.	Protestant Episcopal	Dec. 1, 1838
Charles Keighley <sup>47</sup>	Ft. Gratiot, Mich.		
William H.			
Brockway <sup>48</sup>	Ft. Brady, Mich.		Nov. 1, 1840
John O'Brien <sup>49</sup>	Ft. Mackinac, Mich.	Protestant Episcopal	Jan. 3, 1842
Jared S. Elliott <sup>50</sup>	Ft. Atkinson, Iowa		
John McVickar <sup>51</sup>	Ft. Columbus, NY	Protestant Episcopal	Sept. 4, 1844

<sup>41</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U.S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 1195, Ft. Snelling, Iowa, May 1850.

<sup>42</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 564, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, May 1850.

<sup>43</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 405, Ft. Gibson, Oklahoma, April 1850.

<sup>44</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 1387, Ft. Washita, November 1847: Scull had some difficulties with the Council of Administration at Ft. Washita that eventually led to his resignation on December 15, 1847: Record Group 94. Microfilm 711, Registers of Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1812-1884), Roll 20, Supplement I (A-P, R-Y), S768/313, 334. On July 2, 1847, the Commander of Ft. Washita recommended that it be struck from the list of chaplain Posts (Record Group 94. Microfilm 567, Letters received by the Office of the Adjutant General, [Main Series] 1822-1860, Roll 331, A185) and on April 20, 1847 he recommends "that the office of chaplain be dispensed with at this post.... It is also desirable that a change be made in the religious persuasion of chaplain which can be effected by the above suggestion" (A214). A long series of charges and counter charges between Commander and Post chaplain follow (104 entries!) on modern film panels numbers #0598-#0702. See the analysis of the affair: R. D. Gamble, "Army Chaplains at Frontier Posts, 1830-1860," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 27 (1958) 297-301.

<sup>45</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 148, Ft. Brooke, Florida, October 1850; Roll 523, New Orleans Barracks, December 1851.

<sup>46</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 793, Ft. Monroe, Virginia, April 1850.

<sup>47</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 419, Ft. Gratiot, Michigan. The records show him on Post November 1840-June 1846. There are no records July 1846-October 1848.

<sup>48</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 132, Ft. Brady, Michigan, November 1840.

<sup>49</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 617, Returns from U. S. Military Posts 1800-1916, Roll 694, Ft. Mackinac, Michigan, March 1842. But see also April 1850.

<sup>50</sup>I did not check Ft. Atkinson in the Returns. There are letters showing Elliott active as chaplain at Ft. Atkinson during the War: Record Group 94. Microfilm 711, Registers of Letters received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1812-1889, Roll 19, Volume 22, p. 183, (11 August 1846), p. 186 (14 September 1846); Roll 20, Volume 23, E87 (9 March 1847).

<sup>51</sup>I did not check Ft. Columbus in the Returns. There are letters showing McVickar active as Chaplain at Ft. Columbus: Record Group 94. Microfilm 711, Registers of Letters

NAME	POST	DENOMINATION	BEGINNING DATE
			OF EMPLOYMENT
	*		

W. Soull<sup>52</sup> Ft. Rucker Aug. 2, 1845
John McCarty<sup>53</sup> Brigade Chaplain Protestant Episcopal April 30, 1847

I found no record of Volunteer units employing chaplains in the rolls of the Volunteers from Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, and the "Mormon" volunteers.<sup>54</sup> Three chaplains who served in the Louisiana Volunteers have been identified, however: John Powell, Levi Pressly, and W. H. Crenshaw.<sup>55</sup>

As noted above,<sup>56</sup> the President did hire two Roman Catholic priests to accompany the Army to Mexico, apparently disregarding the very specific legislation of Congress.<sup>57</sup> The motives of the President, to judge from Marcy's letter to COL Kearney of the 1st Dragoons, Ft. Leonard Wood, MO, were purely political:

The President has been informed that much pains have been taken to alarm the religious prejudices of the Mexican inhabitants of Santa Fe... against the United States. He deems it important that their misapprehensions in this respect should be corrected... and for that purpose he has caused arrangements to be made for a person of high character and good repute in the Roman Catholic Church to accompany your forces.... It is hoped that he will without departing from the path of his duties as a clergyman be useful in removing the false impressions of the Mexicans in relation to the United States in taking possession of New Mexico—and inducing them to confide in the assurance you will make that their religious institutions will be respected—the property of the Church protected—

Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1812-1889, Roll 19, Mc 237 (May 25, 1846). Record Group 94. Microfilm 567, Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1822-1860, Roll 320, L-M90, L209 (modern #0442-0447) (October 9, 1846). See W. A. McVickar, *The Life of the Reverend John McVickar, S. T. D.* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1872) 65, 308-28. See Record Group 94. Microfilm 565, Letters Sent by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1800-1900, Roll 13, Volume 20, p. 391 for his appointment date.

<sup>52</sup>I did not check Ft. Rucker in the Returns. It is reported in a letter dated March 21, 1846 that Soull accepted employment as a Chaplain August 2, 1845. Record Group 94. Microfilm 711, Registers of Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1812-1889, Roll 19, Volume 22, S81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>See note 19 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>I have not verified the Volunteer Rolls from Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, Maryland, and Washington.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>See note 19 above. With the exception of Crenshaw, this information has never been verified in the primary sources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>See note 20 and the discussion above under "Religion, Politics, and War."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>See the judgement of the Secretary of War, W. L. Marcy, in regard to the law of February 11, 1847: "Neither the President or this Department is authorized to appoint chaplains—that authority still resides with the Councils of Administration" "of the several regiments constituting a brigade," as he notes earlier in the letter. I do not include them in the list of Chaplains above, since they were not hired according to the provisions of the law. This in no way intends to detract from the service they rendered to soldiers and to the country during the war.

their worship undisturbed—in fine that all their religious rights will be in the amplest manner preserved to them." 58

Two Priests, Reverend John McElroy and Anthony Rey, were surprisingly enough employed "to perform duties as appertain to chaplains," and paid at the former rate of Regular Army chaplains, a rate determined by the Secretary of War.<sup>59</sup> They were, however, identified to the Quartermaster as "Special Agents" and paid travel expenses.<sup>60</sup>

The Regular Army chaplains who served during the war as chaplain and Professor of Geography, History, and Ethics at West Point were Rev. Martin Parks, himself a graduate of the Academy, who resigned on 31 December 1846;<sup>61</sup> and the Rev. William T. Sprole, who succeeded him, was commissioned on March 13, 1847.<sup>62</sup> Hence there were a total of 20 Army chaplains who served during wartime, three of whom clearly served in the combat zone, and possibly another three as well.

#### An Army Without Chaplains

How did the absence of chaplains with the Army in the field affect individual military personnel involved in operations? The broader question how did it formally affect the Army in the field-may not be answerable. Obviously, the Federal Administration felt that Roman Catholic chaplains might give the U. S. expeditionary forces enough credibility with the Mexican people and the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico that the Mexican Federal Government would thereby be deprived of religion as a political tool, as a means of instilling in the people the will to resist. But this in no way allows one to measure the affect of the lack of chaplain support on the U.S. military forces during the war. For example, desertions were high during the war. 63 Could the presence of chaplains have lowered the desertion rate? While one may make comparisons with the desertion rates in other wars where chaplains were present with the Army in the field, the result would be simply a comparison. To measure accurately how chaplains' ministry impacted desertion rates in the Mexican-American War, one would have to compare desertion rates of units with chaplains to the desertion rates of units without chaplains in that particular war. Since chaplains were not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Record Group 107. Microfilm 6, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, Letters Sent, Military Affairs, Volume 26, pp. 251-52 dated May 27, 1846.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Record Group 107. Microfilm 6, Record of the Office of the Secretary of War. Letters Sent, Military Affairs, Volume 26, pp. 247-48. See also for other letters on the matter, pp. 260-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Record Group 107. Microfilm 6, Records of the Office of the Secretary of War, Letters Sent, Military Affairs, Volume 26, p. 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup>See Norton, Struggling for Recognition, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup>Record Group 94. Microfilm 567, Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General (Main Series) 1822-1860, Roll 357, S116 (modern #0861).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup>See Heitman, *Historical Register*, 2.282. Heitman reports the aggregate number of Volunteers and Regulars that served during the war to be 115,847. The aggregate number of deserters during the war from the Volunteers (5,331) and Regulars (3,876) was 9,207; hence there was an 8% desertion rate from U. S. Forces!

authorized to maneuver until the last few months of the war such comparisons are not feasible, and in any case there simply may be too many variables to allow a definitive answer to the broader question.

What can be done, however, is to survey unofficial popular reports from the war to determine how the lack of chaplain support was observed and/or experienced by individuals involved in the war. Such a collection of personal anecdotes from those who served in the war are valuable as they give insight into the popular imagination of the time in a way that the official annals cannot. They personalize the war, rather than quantify it.

In general one may say on the basis of the published memoirs of the Mexican-American War that few writers took formal note of the absence of chaplains in the field with the American Forces. At least two did, however; one soldier in describing the Mexican ceremonies before the beginning of the battle of Buena Vista on 23 February 1847 (just twelve days after Congress changed the law regarding chaplains) said:

They [i.e., the Mexican troops] formed in one long line with their massed band in front, and then a procession of ecclesiastical dignitaries with all the gorgeous paraphernalia of the Catholic Church advanced along the lines, preceded by the bands playing a solemn anthem. The air was so clear we could see every movement: The Infantry knelt down, the Cavalry lowered their lances and uncovered, and their colors drooped as the benedictions were bestowed. This ceremony offered a striking contrast to conditions in our lines; there was not a Chaplain in our army!<sup>64</sup>

Another writer included the following candid note to a description of a funeral conducted without a chaplain for a deceased officer in Mexico:

The want of clergymen was most severely felt at Monterrey, and elsewhere in Mexico: we have been informed that by a curious absurdity in the law, the chaplains of the army are not obliged to leave the barracks where they are stationed, to follow the army, hence our forces in Mexico are without ministers. The impropriety of this will strike the most superficial observer and thinker.<sup>65</sup>

Occasionally religious services were conducted by civilian clergy who visited the troops, or by military personnel who had been clergymen in civilian life, 66 but I found little of this attested in the memoirs. Sundays,

<sup>64</sup>Samuel E. Chamberlain. My Confession: The Recollections of a Rogue (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956) 118-19.

<sup>65</sup>T. B. Thorpe, *Our Army at Monterrey*, 137. See also, Graham A. Barringer, "The Mexican War Journal of Henry S. Lane," *Indiana Magazine of History* 53 (1957) 410; "It might be said with equal truth that in the midst of arms, religion and morals are silent."

<sup>66</sup>See Norton, Struggling for Recognition, 75; Thorpe, Our Army at Monterrey, 9-10: "On the sabbath preceding the movement of Col. Wilson, Capt. R. A. Stewart, of the Andrew Jackson regiment of Louisiana Volunteers, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, preached at the head-quarters of Gen. Worth, on the west side of the Rio Grande. His congregation was composed of the officers and men of the regular army, and a few civilians. This sermon was the first preached by a Protestant clergyman in Mexico, and in the history of the religious movement in that country, will ever be one of interest." See also Barringer, "The Mexican War Journal of Henry S. Lane," Indiana Magazine of History, 391, 394; William F. Goetzmann, "Our First Foreign War," American Heritage. The Magazine of History 17.4 (1966) 22; and William Jay, A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey Co.; Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt & Co., New York: M. W. Dodd, 1849) 262.

when noted in the memoirs, passed with few allusions to religious services of any sort. Individuals read their Bibles and prayer books, prayed, and when it was possible attended services conducted by Mexican Catholic Priests. Otherwise they were left to their own devices, and alone with their own thoughts, some of which is graphically portrayed in the memoirs.

I have selected four representatives: an officer and soldier each from the Regular Army and from the Volunteers, to illustrate individual personal reactions to the lack of religious support for the troops during the war.

Barna Upton, a private in the Third Infantry, U. S. Army, was trained at Governors Island, New York where he did attend religious services conducted by an Army civilian chaplain (John McVickar).<sup>67</sup> Along with every man in his unit he had been given a Bible, which he carried with him and read as he had time. In a letter to his mother he wrote:

I thank you and father for your good advice, and I do pray that I may be a Christian. I read the Bible that the good Chaplain gave me almost every day, and I do love to read it, because I know it points the way to our resting place, when we leave this world of change, disappointment, and death. I think more than I used to of death and eternity, and I hope that when I die I shall live again.... 68

He does note the passing of Sundays in his letters, when they occur, but there is no indication that he had been provided opportunity by the military for formal worship experience after Governor's Island.<sup>69</sup> He found the Army, in general, to be comprised of "profane and wicked" men, though there are some, he says, "who possess the true principles of consistent and intelligent men." He died in combat at Mexico City, on the 15th of October 1847, without, so far as can be ascertained, benefit of any formal spiritual comfort throughout the war. In a letter of May 14, 1846, he described the battlefield after the Battle of Palo Alto:

The wounded, both friend and foe, were collected on the bank of the pond. Their groans were heartrending as the dreadful and rapid progress of amputation was going on. The dead lay in a heap beside. So much misery on account of a disputed and uninhabited piece of land.

We again encamped on the battleground and early the next morning I walked down on the margin of the bloody pond. There lay the dead, dying, and wounded Mexicans. They were crying for water, and though in their own tongue, I soon understood what they wanted. I employed myself in carrying them water till a party appeared who were directed to collect the dead and wounded. $^{71}$ 

His letters suggest that the twenty-six year old soldier was intelligent, sensitive, and observant. His First Sergeant said of him in a letter to his parents "that a better soldier never served his country or died for it."

Captain E. Kirby Smith was a Regular Army Officer in the Fifth Infantry who went to Mexico in August of 1845. He was apparently a man

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<sup>67</sup>Goetzmann, "Our First Foreign War," American Heritage, 22-23, 85.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>Goetzmann, "Our First Foreign War," American Heritage, 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup>Goetzmann, "Our First Foreign War," American Heritage, 90, 94, 97.

<sup>70</sup>Goetzmann, "Our First Foreign War," American Heritage, 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup>Goetzmann, "Our First Foreign War," American Heritage, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Goetzmann, "Our First Foreign War," American Heritage, 99 (20 April 1848).

of sincere Christian faith, whose observations on his war service reflects his faith. For example, on the march from Jalapa to Puebla he became so overcome with the beauty of the region that he "dropped on the earth to breathe a prayer and a thanksgiving to a good God who had made such a glorious world." His journal has many observations that reflect both his human sensitivity and his faith. He served on the Council of Administration that hired Rev. John McCarty as Brigade Chaplain in Gen. Gideon Pillow's division. And then the following Sunday (May 2, 1847) heard him preach his second sermon in the brigade, the first Protestant worship service Kirby had heard since August 1846!

It is Sunday. I attended divine service this morning. A table was placed under the porch of the commanding officer's quarters, which served as a desk. The men were paraded in masses in the courtyard, the officers standing near the chaplain. After reading the service he preached a good, sound, though unornamented sermon on the necessity of religion; it was a continuation of his discourse of last Sunday. This is the first Protestant service I have heard since I left Syracuse in August, 1846.<sup>77</sup>

He did from time to time visit Mexican Catholic Churches and attend Roman Catholic services conducted by Mexican Priests, even though he understood little of the significance of the service and was somewhat personally anti-Catholic. Ribby died in the battle for Molino del Rey on September 8, 1847.

William P. Rogers, a Captain of Volunteers in Company K of the Mississippi Rifles commanded by Jefferson Davis, arrived with his unit at the mouth of the Rio Grande Sunday morning August 16, 1846. His second entry in his diary included these words:

This is a lone and desolate sand beach but God is here—and he is the friend of the good—may I so act as to merit his goodness. This is his day may I pass it in a proper manner and with a proper spirit.<sup>79</sup>

Of course it was not always possible to observe the "sabbath" in combat, but the intent to do so is expressive of his attitude and faith. He tried attending Mexican Catholic services but did not find that they met his religious needs. 80 In general he found little in the way of formal religious worship, and hence he read his bible to encourage his spiritual development and to meet his own religious needs.

It is the Holy Sabbath and I have endeavored to spend it somewhat as a Christian should. I have read 4 or 5 chapters in the Bible but I fear I have not read them in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 140.

<sup>74</sup>Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 26, 128, 142-43.

<sup>75</sup>Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 53, 56, 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup>Blackwood, *To Mexico with Scott*, 144-45: "It will really be refreshing to hear another sermon, which pleasure I hope to have on Sunday..." (145).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Blackwood, *To Mexico with Scott*, 69-70, 77-82, 150-51, 154, 166, 171-72, 186-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>Eleanor Damon Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers 1846-1862," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 32.4 (1929) 261.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup>Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 272.

the proper spirit. I have written one letter on business which probably could have been deferred but I am so lonely that I am compelled to keep engaged.<sup>81</sup>

Today I have spent chiefly in my tent, nothing has occurred to disturb the monotony of camp life. I have [read] 4 or 5 chapters of the Bible and have learnt something more of the ancient history of the Bible than I knew before.<sup>82</sup>

This is the holy sabbath day but no church bell sounds inviting us to the house of God, nor do I see crowds of well dressed people moving to church. I have spent the day unprofitably to myself and others but how could I spend it otherwise here where hoarse and rude oaths are all that hails the holy sabbath morn. <sup>83</sup>

Nor did he find camp life conducive to the moral welfare of himself or his troops:

A man of any refinement is disgusted hourly with the grammar of a camp and soldiers are much worse when they are idle, hence I desire to keep moving until we are disbanded which I hope will be soon for I am more than tired of a soldiers life I am disgusted with it.<sup>84</sup>

Their [i.e., soldiers] long absence from home and from their friends who were wont to cheer them in moments of gloom has crushed the spirit of very many of our best men. In sickness there were none here to console in sorrow none to comfort, and the thought that they will soon again be with those who will deal in kindness by them is balm to their bruised hearts. Poor fellows, none save those who have been with them and witnessed their sufferings will ever know what they have endured.<sup>85</sup>

His diary is scattered throughout with comments that attest the pressure of the war on his psyche and his own personal response of faith; for example:

Time weighs heavy on me. I am impatient and know not why. I ask thee oh my God to give me the capacity for patient endurance. Let my language be that of old Job. "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away and blessed be the name of the Lord."

Tis late at night, I am gloomy. Home and its comforts rise in review—It is very cold and my bed is composed of three blankets, on one I sleep and with the others I cover. I did have another blanket but I gave it some weeks ago to a poor soldier—I think he ought to feel grateful, and for aught I know he does.<sup>86</sup>

He lived through the Mexican-American War to serve in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, and his diary continues with his personal observations on that war.

<sup>81</sup>Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 264.

<sup>82</sup>Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 264.

<sup>83</sup>Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 280.

<sup>84</sup>Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 264-65.

<sup>85</sup>Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 278; see also p. 285 and 263.

<sup>86</sup>Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 277; see also 273, 268, 270, 263.

William H. Richardson was a soldier under the command of Colonel Alexander Doniphan, which comprised a Volunteer force from Missouri. While his unit was at Fort Leavenworth (Friday 14 August 1846), he said:

I called on the minister [Leander Ker] who was very kind and affectionate in his conversation and manners. He presented me a Testament, Prayer Book, and a bundle of tracts—at night we threw copies into each tent, and then sung hymns until it was time to retire.<sup>87</sup>

And two days later (Sunday 16 August) he along with several others went out of the fort to hear a missionary preach in an Indian village. This disposition to attend religious services is a characteristic of his journal and he attended Mexican Catholic services as he had opportunity even though he did not understand the service, nor find it personally helpful to him.

After eating three small crackers for breakfast, I went to church in company with several others, to hear a Catholic priest. The music was prettily performed on various instruments. An old man in the meantime turning round before an image, and after he had bowed to the people several times, the music ceased. All was over, and we returned to camp. I felt sick and sad, for the worship did not refresh my spirits. This evening I was pall-bearer to a member of the Benton Company, who died in the hospital soon after his arrival. We carried him out about a mile from the city to his final resting place. Four others were buried today, who died from fatigue and exhaustion. They belonged to the different companies. The muffled roll of the drum, and the firing of the farewell to the dead, did not have a tendency to cheer me. 88

The lack of a religious emphasis in the funeral service described by Richardson in the preceding quote was the rule, rather than the exception. In fact, it was rare that any funeral was conducted under the auspices of a minister or a chaplain since they were simply not present in the field. Richardson found such funerals to be depressing rather than encouraging. Some of the descriptions of the battlefield after a battle suggests that there were hasty burials of American soldiers, while the Mexican dead were simply left to the elements.

I rode with several others to Gen. Wool's camp. On the way we passed over the battleground of Buena Vista and saw the remains of hundreds of Mexicans thrown in heaps and covered over with cactus. These remained undisturbed by the wolves, while they [i.e., wolves] had disinterred our Americans and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup>William B. McGroarty, "William H. Richardson's Journal of Doniphan's Expedition. First Article," *Missouri Historical Review* 22 (1928) 213. See also D. E. Livingston-Little, *The Mexican War Diary of Thomas D. Tennery* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1970) 7. Tennery attended a funeral, July 13, 1847, conducted by the "Chaplain," possibly C. Hedges. Hedges is not listed as the chaplain after May of 1844. John McCarthy became Post chaplain in 1850.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup>McGroarty, "William H. Richardson's Journal of Doniphan's Expedition, First Article", *Missouri Historical Review*, 228.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup>I did find one that was conducted by Father Rey at Mexico City: Thorpe, *Our Army at Monterrey*, 144. In the main, funerals were hasty burials or military ceremonies. Compare the following as an example of an officer's funeral (CPT Randolph Ridgely) conducted as a military ceremony. It is instructive that no protestant chaplain is present in October 1846 (Thorpe, 136-37):

devoured them; these animals make a practice in keeping in the rear of our advancing armies, and always prefer eating our men after death to the Mexicans. 90

Arrived at a deserted ranch late in the morning, after passing 40 miles over a most dreadful road. Being in the rear guard, I and eleven others, were obliged to assist the wagons up the hills, by pushing at the wheels. All along this route decaying bodies and skeletons of men are lying. Some of the bodies still had their clothing on, and the stench was almost intolerable. The road was also strewed with mules, which had died in numbers on their way to Monterrey. 91

Richardson himself on occasion conducted simple religious services, such as reading his testament "to some of the boys." The Mexican Services he attended did not meet his religious needs however. As for example on March 1, 1847:

His funeral at Monterrey was one of the most magnificent and strikingly melancholy pageants that was ever witnessed; all who were "off duty" attended, to pay their last respects to the remains of the deceased soldier. The cortege was headed by his battery, four brass six-pounders. Then followed the corpse, wrapped in our national ensign, borne upon a gun-carriage, dismantled of its piece and caisson; four artillery officers walked on each side, acting as pall-bearers. Then came the dark roan steed, fully caparisoned, led by two dragoons; in one of the stirrups was placed his military boot and spur; his sword, sash, and glove hung from the pummel.

The Baltimore battalion, fellow-townsmen of Ridgely, next followed without guns or side-arms, as chief mourners. The infantry officers below the grade of field-officers on foot, in order of rank and seniority, followed by the generals and field-officers, among which were Generals Taylor, Worth, Twiggs, Smith, Quitman, and Hamer. Then came a long line of subalterns in rich uniforms, mounted upon splendid horses.

As the procession moved along, dark clouds hung sullenly over the mountain-tops, and cold mists swept through the valleys. Nature seemed to sympathize with the sorrow exhibited for the departed hero. The procession halted in the rear of General Taylor's marquee, in the beautiful grove of St. Domingo, where the corpse of the unfortunate soldier was to be deposited in its last resting-place. Colonel Childs read the burial service of the Episcopal church, after which a gun was fired three times, and earth was rendered to earth and ashes to ashes, and the grave closed upon one of the most manly forms, once the abode of the noblest spirit that ever lived.

Usually, of course, the service was much more spartan, as in that attested by Richardson (note 127), or simply burying the deceased with no ceremonies whatsoever, even though the military situation would have allowed for a more structured religious service. For other burials in Richardson's journal see pages 336, 355-56, 522. See also James K. Holland, "Diary of a Texan Volunteer in the Mexican War." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 30 (1926) 13, 14, 33.

<sup>90</sup>McGroarty, "William H. Richardson. Third Article," Missouri Historical Review 22 (1928) 525.

<sup>91</sup>McGroarty, "William H. Richardson, Third Article," Missouri Historical Review, 527. Similar reports are found in other memoirs. For example: Barringer, "The Mexican War Journal of Henry S. Lane," Indiana Magazine of History, 411 (Mexican), 420 (American); Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 53, 87, 135, 203; Holland, "Diary of a Texan Volunteer in the Mexican War," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 11. John Hammond Moore, "Private Johnson Fights the Mexicans 1847-1848" South Carolina Historical Magazine 67.4 (1966) 213; Henry Smith Turner, "Letters about the Mexican War" Glimpses of the Past 2.2 (1934-35) 11-12; Charles Hamilton, "The Letters of General Charles Hamilton Written from the Seat of War in Mexico," The Metropolitan Magazine 26.9 (1907) 315.

<sup>92</sup>McGroarty, "William H. Richardson. Second Article," Missouri Historical Review 22 (1928) 331. I went to Church, which was open for Mass, but soon returned with a headache, longing for the simple and sweet worship of my own church at home.<sup>93</sup>

Richardson was something of a Christian moralist as the following quotation shows. But it also illustrates the lack of activities, religious and otherwise, for religiously inclined persons:

16th [April 1847] The morning air being clear and cool I took a walk to relieve the excessive languor I feel. I have little or no appetite, and my spirits are very much depressed. I went to the American hotel, where a great many questions were asked me. While there I read an advertisement of a grand ball to be given on Sunday, 18th, entrance \$2. It is really distressing to contemplate the desecration of the Sabbath in this country. Oh! how I long to be once more in a truly Christian land, and among congenial spirits.

Sunday, 18th. Various exhibitions encountered at everystep throughout the city to-day. Sunday as it is, gambling is the most prominent. At night the greater part of our men went to the ball.<sup>94</sup>

Richardson survived the war and returned to Missouri.

The memoirs are rather full of these kinds of oblique references to the lack of religious support for the military personal bereft of the support networks of family, community, and church/synagogue during the war. Another thing that can be observed by the careful reader are situations that would be considered by a chaplain of the modern Army as "chaplain's issues," in a broad sense, that are unaddressed in the Army of Taylor and Scott. For example, death of troops from exposure and disease, 95 the officers

<sup>93</sup>McGroarty, "William H. Richardson. Third Article," Missouri Historical Review 516. For other reports of his church attendance see the following pages 332, 336-37, 514, 517, 534. He even notes occasions when he did not go to church: 349, 350. Richardson's "Protestant" attitude toward Catholic services was shared by others, but who, wanting some religious comfort, also attended Mexican language Catholic services: Samuel C. Reid, The Scouting Expeditions of McCulloch's Texas Rangers; or, the Summer and Fall Campaign of the Army of the United States in Mexico-1846; including skirmishes with the Mexicans, and ... the storming of Monterrey; also, the daring scouts at Buena Vista; together with anecdotes, incidents, descriptions of the country, and sketches of the lives of ... Hays, McCulloch and Walker (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970 [first published 1847]) 34-35. Livingston-Little, The Mexican War Diary of Thomas D. Tennery, 27-28:

A beautiful cool Sunday morning, about fifteen of us went up to town with Lieutenant Howard to the Catholic church; this is built of brick and would be a splendid edifice were it finished. When I entered this place of public worship the priest was standing up preaching in the pulpit; his grey hairs, strong persuasive voice, and venerable appearance with the stillness of the place struck us with reverential awe and devotion, the preaching over the priest kneeling to the images and the lamps burning, the ministering garments appeared absurd to us but we could not censure a form because it did not concur with our preconceived opinions of religion.

Even though Tennery did not understand the services he continued to attend Mexican worship services. See pages 29, 92.

94McGroarty, "William H. Richardson. Third Article," Missouri Historical Review, 519.

95McGroarty, "William H. Richardson. Second Article," Missouri Historical Review, 337; Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 153, 155, 177, 180, 188-89; Pace, "The Diary and Letters of William P. Rogers," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 265; C. F. Hinds, "Mexican War Journal of Leander M. Cox Part II," Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 55.3 (1957) 217, 218-220, 222, 223, 232-33.

eat better than the enlisted ranks, <sup>96</sup> idle moments with no wholesome activities for the troops, <sup>97</sup> unwarranted preferential treatment shown to certain persons in promotions, <sup>98</sup> dispondancy and suicide, <sup>99</sup> treatment of non-combatants, <sup>100</sup> incompetence, mismanagement, and official neglect of essential services, <sup>101</sup> demoralizing fear; <sup>102</sup> these are just some of the issues that a modern professional Army chaplain would have felt compelled to address.

But perhaps the most dramatic issue for a modern chaplain (and hopefully a modern commander) would have been the lack of emotional and religious support for soldiers dying of disease and wounds in the hospitals. The hospitals were crowded. Compare the following figures: in the Mexican-American War there were a total of 1,192 soldiers killed in combat, 529 subsequently died of wounds received in combat, 361 died accidental deaths, but 11,155 died of disease and related causes!<sup>103</sup>

Of course the few civilian chaplains that served in the war zone provided ministry as best they could, but the demands far outstripped their ability to meet the needs. Fathers McIlroy and Rey made the hospital the focus of their ministry:

Feb. 10th, 1847. Visited in company with Col. Taylor, Father McIlroy, a Catholic priest appointed by Mr. Polk. He is a man of great intelligence, of great suavity of manner, & he lives in style, has good wines & brandies. He does not neglect the creature comforts in his anxiety for the spiritual. He [is] I think the

<sup>96</sup>McGroarty, "William H. Richardson. Second Article," *Missouri Historical Review*, 344; Moore, "Private Johnson Fights the Mexicans 1847-1848," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 205, 217.

<sup>97</sup>McGroarty, "William H. Richardson. Second Article," Missouri Historical Review, 354, 517; Barringer, "The Mexican War Journal of Henry S. Lane," Indiana Magazine of History, 390.

<sup>98</sup>Blackwood, To Mexico with Scott, 59, 93, 132-33; Moore, "Private Johnson Fights the Mexicans 1847-1848," South Carolina Historical Magazine, 219.

<sup>99</sup>Livingston-Little, *The Mexican War Diary of Thomas D. Tennery*, 84: April 27 [1847] Awoke this morning after laying on our hard pads and suffering with our irritated wounds, and annoyed by the bells of the city. This is a cool cloudy day. The rest of the wounded came in this evening. Many of them had to be carried in litters; this was very fatiguing to the men. We learned from the men that a regular, helping to carry a litter, swore last night when they stopped, that before he would carry another day, he would kill himself; so this morning about an hour before they got ready to start, he loaded his gun, took off his shoes and socks, lent on the muzzle of the gun, pulled the trigger with his big toe and blew the load through him. Despondency ended his life.

<sup>100</sup>William Jay, Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War, 223-29.

<sup>101</sup>John S.D. Eisenhower, "Polk and his Generals" in *Essays on the Mexican War* (Wayne Cutter, John S.D. Eisenhower, Miguel E. Soto, Douglas W. Richmond, eds.; Arlington, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1986) 34-65. The one bright spot in the officers corps were the professional young "West Pointers" who served at Company Grade level.

<sup>102</sup>Holland, "Diary of a Texan Volunteer in the Mexican War," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 12.

<sup>103</sup>Heitman, Historical Register 2.282. See also the collection of primary source material: G. W. Smith and C. Juday, "Chills, Measles, and Yellow Jack," pp. 318-50 in Chronicles of the Gringos. The U. S. Army in the Mexican War, 1846-1848. Accounts of Eyewitness and Combatants (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1968).

best informed man whom I have met in Mexico. He visits the sick & afflicted & I think will do much good in his present position. 104

At the time of my arrival in Matamoras, the chief part of General Taylor's army was encamped near the city on the bank of the Rio Grande. In the camp were two large tents for hospitals, used by those not dangerously ill; in town a general hospital had been commenced, and some hundred and fifty or more patients provided for: to visit these was my principal duty.

Early in August General Taylor with all his troops, except three companies of artillery left to garrison Matamoras, took up the line of march for Comargo, one hundred and fifty miles higher up the river, and the extreme point of navigation on the way to Monterey. As a large proportion of his command were Catholics, I thought proper that Fr. Rey should accompany him. Accordingly the Father left me on the fourth of August, but as his stay there was short great numbers, probably upwards of six hundred died during the fall months without receiving the last Sacraments. In Matamoras the number of the sick increased to nine hundred, chiefly Volunteers, few of whom were Catholics. Still I instructed and baptized eighty-four adults who, with the exception of two or three, shortly after paid the debt of nature. There were in the city five different buildings occupied as hospitals, in which I spent usually the forenoon and afternoon of each day, visiting each ward and each bed. I was always welcomed by those of every denomination and if I omitted even one day to visit them, they took care to remind me of it on the following. I found but little difficulty with those who professed no religion and those especially who had never received baptism yielded to instruction with much docility. Among them in their last moments I witnessed many edifying traits, so calmly, peacefully and resignedly did they submit to their fate. 105

However, they could scarcely meet the needs of the troops; and soldiers dying without any religious consolation whatever was the rule rather than the exception. The fact that Father McElroy's ministry was received gratefully by all denominations is a good indication of the soldiers' sense of religious need. And the fact that he expanded his ministerial concern to soldiers not of his faith group is in the finest tradition of the U. S. Army Chaplaincy.

We lay sick then in the hospital tent of the 5th infantry, to which we had been removed by the kindness of our friends; and stretched out on a pallet among the sick soldiers of that regiment, we suffered for some days form the excruciating disease of the climate. There is no place like the couch of the sick for reflection and meditation. There, man is made to feel his helplessness and his dependency upon the will of a Supreme Being; there, feeling the uncertainty of life, his soul softens and relents towards his fellow man; the stern purpose, or fell design, relaxes in determination; and he who, in health the day before, would have stopped at nothing, is then made as weak and helpless as a child. The hospital of the sick, especially that of the soldier, is human nature undisguised. It is the mirror of character, into which one may look and read at will. Scenes of every

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup>Barringer, "The Mexican War Journal of Henry S. Lane," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 414-15.

<sup>105</sup>John McElroy, "Chaplains for the Mexican War—1846" Woodstock Letters 16 (1887) 38-39; see also p. 36. John McCarty is quoted as having written from Mexico: "I have now in the regular army eleven hospitals to visit, with one in the Quartermaster's department, which requires a great deal of my time. The number of the sick reported in this city exceeds three thousand men!" as quoted in Jay, Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War, 220; pages 218-222 review the terrible toll of disease on the U. S. Forces.

nature are reflected there, from the gayest to the most mournful. And, oh! most sad and sorrowful is it, melancholy, and most painful of all scenes, to see a young soldier in the bloom and hey-day of life, when his fond anticipations and dearest prospects glow brightest with the fire of enthusiasm, lying on the couch of death, with no kind friend or relative near to speak a soothing word of consolation, or to remember him to those he loved, or bear to them his dying wish, as his last breath vanishes upon the atmosphere of a foreign land, and sinking into the arms of death, not even to be mentioned or remembered for the service he had rendered, or known to the world as one who had fought in the defence of his country's cause. These thoughts naturally arose in our mind as we saw, in our presence, a poor fellow carried out to be buried, who had fought bravely at the late battles, and was now to be entombed without a tear, or hardly a regret, to follow him to his grave, save that which the volley of muskets echoed as the fresh green earth was piled over his corpse. 106

The 2nd Mississippi Regiment, however, are dredfully scourged by sickness having 11 persons in forty eight hours last past. Oh the glories of the war! Poetry, painting, & eloquence will be involved to teach a gapeing world the splendid achievements & brilliant results of our victories, but who shall sing the horrors of this campaign? Who will enter the small heated, & crowded tent of the poor soldier & say how he died; wipe the death damps from his cold brow; catch the last glance of his dimned eye, that fearful glance where struggles hope, difiance, & mortal agony; hear the last half-breathed wish to be kindly remembered by those dear & loved ones afar off whom he shall never see?<sup>107</sup>

Many of my men are sick principally [of] chills & fevers. I think several very ill and do[u]bt their recovery. We sent 5 to [the] hospital today and more [to go] tomorrow. . . . Just as I was preparing for some excursions through the city I learned that two of my men, Alvin Markwell & John Goddard, were dead. Died at Hospital last night. Lieut Walker & myself went forthwith to the Hospital to attend to burying them, but were informed they had been sent off for burial. I found another of my men Wash Foudray dying. He soon died & was also interred by the hospital attendants. George Mayne & John Bradley are very sick & I fear will both die. Jo Clarke is also very sick. I shall leave 20 men in [the] hospital here. <sup>108</sup>

24th [November 1846]—Elias Barber is very sick to-day. He spent a wretched night last night in a thin cotton tent. The wind is blowing on him constantly, while the measles are out very thick. I went to the Captain this morning and informed him of the situation of the young man. He told me if I could procure a place in the house, he might be brought in. I therefore went and after making preparations to move him, I was told that no such thing should be done. I then tried to get an extra tent to place over the one we are sleeping in, and even this was denied me. The poor fellow is lying out of doors, exposed to all the inclemency of this cold climate. And last night it was so cold that the water became frozen in our canteens. The Surgeon appears interested, but it is all to no purpose—nothing further is done for the comfort of the sufferer. May the Lord deliver me from the tender mercies of such men!

25th—I felt quite unwell all day to-day. I suffered much from a severe attack of diarrhoea. Our lodgings are very uncomfortable. I went down to the Rio Grande to get water, and found it nearly frozen over. A great mortality prevails among the troops who are dying from exposure and disease.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup>Reid, McCulloch's Texas Rangers, 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup>Barringer, "The Mexican War Journal of Henry S. Lane," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 429; see also pages 398-400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup>Hinds, "Mexican War Journal of Leander M. Cox, II," Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, 227-28.

26th—I was very much engaged all day, in nursing poor Barber. He is worse to-day, the measles having disappeared from the surface. I sat by him the livelong night and listened to his delirious ravings and I felt sad to think I had no means of relief. At 4 o'clock this morning the Captain came, and finding him so ill, brought out a tent to cover the one he laid in. 109

May 8 [1847]—The hospital was inspected by Dr. Bite and some other physicians.

May 9—Yesterday and today are long to be remembered as the era [anniversary] when open hostilities between Mexican and our government began.

May 10—The boys brought in some cherries and gave me some; they are of the black kind and taste the same as in the states. A few of the regulars brought in a soldier not able to speak or help himself, besides they had let him get so nasty he was covered with fly blows. Here they left him without any attendance, such meanness is often seen among the regulars.

May 11-A man died in this room today.

May 12—General Scott visited the hospital, familiarly enquiring of each patient concerning his health, disease and to what corps he belonged and so forth.

May 13—Lieutenant Janson died last night. His sufferings were great. There has been no rain since the sixth of this month.

May 14—There is a large train of wagons coming from Vera Cruz. One man died in the ward this evening; four or five die every day in the hospital.

May 15—Nothing more than usual. Nine or ten are buried and as fast as they are taken out others are brought in.

May 16—As it is Sunday, there is a very full market. Captain Mason of the rifle regiment was buried this evening. He was buried at the English graveyard a quarter of a mile south of this place. The funeral procession was a fine and solemn one. 110

August 26th [1847]. What a wretched place this is! perhaps more so for a convalescent. Three men now lying dead in this ward—two from wounds, one from disease.

Septr. 2nd. What a horrid place to be obliged to Stay in—Three dead bodies in the room now—Suffered Severely myself during the last few days, but improving rapidly now. Genl. Shields visited the Hospital yesterday, his second visit here—and had a kind word and shake of the hand for every body.<sup>111</sup>

#### Conclusion

It would be too much to expect that chaplains of the mid-nineteenth century would have been as effective as chaplains in the modern Army. Indeed the Chaplaincy as a professional Army Branch does not emerge until 1920. 112 But then during the Mexican-American War neither did the U. S. have a truly professional Army. 113 But the tragedy is that there were virtually no

109McGroarty, "William H. Richardson, Second Article," Missouri Historical Review, 337.

<sup>110</sup>Tennery was wounded in both legs in action on April 18 and was taken to a hospital where he remained until the early part of June. This quote is a short segment from his hospital stay. Livingtson-Little, *The Mexican War Diary of Thomas D. Tennery*, 87-88.

<sup>111</sup>Moore, "Private Johnson Fights the Mexicans, 1847-1848," South Carolina Historical Magazine, 222; see also pages 215, 216.

<sup>112</sup>See Hedrick, "The Emergence of the Chaplaincy," 50.

113Smith and Judah, Chronicles of the Gringos, 1-55.

chaplains, even though there were numerous volunteers to serve! The civilian ministers who did serve, served with distinction, and their ministry was appreciated by the soldier. The Mexican-American War is the only war in which the Army went into combat without chaplains. The cost of the administration's failure to meet the religious needs of soldiers cannot be concretely measured in material and money with charts and percentages, but only in the numerous complaints of the soldiers who served in the war without the ministry of chaplains. Their experience should serve as an example of the potential cost in human welfare deriving from an ineffective, or non-existent, professional Army chaplaincy.

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# Chaplains at Pearl Harbor: 7 December 1941

#### **David Chambers**

What were the Pearl Harbor Chaplains doing on Pearl Harbor Day? One cannot adequately describe what the chaplains were doing on that fateful day. But perhaps a few vignettes will help us to understand what they were experiencing and accomplishing.

Desert Storm lasted for a shade under two months. The attack on Pearl Harbor lasted for a shade under two hours.

In the six weeks of Desert Storm our forces suffered 147 killed and 468 wounded in action. In the 110 minutes of the attack on Pearl Harbor, our forces suffered 2,403 killed in action, 1,178 wounded in action, 640 that were never accounted for; plus, 188 planes lost, 158 damaged, and eight battleships of the Pacific Fleet, crippled or sunk. Roosevelt, who was never at a loss for words, said it was "date that would live in infamy." Military leaders said it was the most disastrous defeat that our military had ever suffered in a single day.

We had 28 chaplains on Oahu—and keep in mind that the island of Oahu could be dropped inside the city of Los Angeles with just a little bit flowing out over the borders of the city. Hence, the intensity of this attack. We had 28 chaplains on Oahu: nine were Army, 19 were Navy. So many were with the sea-going service because, contrary to usual procedure and wisdom, the Navy had 94 ships in the harbor on that weekend. And, of course, every chaplain who was there, as you and I would, remembers exactly what he was doing at the moment of that attack.

Chaplain David Chambers entered the Navy during World War II and served as a chaplain stateside, shipboard, overseas, and with the Marines. Retiring in 1970, he directed the Presbyterian Council for Chaplains until 1983 when he became the first chairman of the Conference of Ecclesiastical Endorsing Agents, the forerunner of the National Conference on Ministry to the Armed Forces. This article is the speech given to that body on 3 December 1991 at their annual meeting.

### Navy Chaplains on Anchored Warships

Chaplain Stan Salisbury, who later became Navy Chief of Chaplains, was driving from Honolulu to the Navy Yard. He had just stopped to pick up flowers for his service aboard the USS PENNSYLVANIA which was in dry dock. Chaplain Terrence Finnegan, who later became Chief of Chaplains of the Air Force, had parked his 1931 Buick in front of the chapel at Schofield Barracks. He planned to run in and get some candles for a Service of Dedication of a new chapel later that day. Bill Maguire, Fleet Chaplain, was waiting for the motor launch that would take him out to the flag ship of the fleet, the USS CALIFORNIA, for an 0830 Mass. Chaplain Howell Forgy, aboard the USS NEW ORLEANS, was flat on his back in the rack as he mulled over his sermon for that Sunday. He never got to deliver it, but actually, it was a better sermon the following Sunday. His text was taken from Paul's letter to the Philippians, the third chapter, the thirteenth verse: "Forgetting those things which are behind, we press on . . .". It was called New Life in Christ. As he lay there on his rack mulling over this sermon, the PA system sounded out: "Now hear this: battle stations! battle stations! All hands to your battle stations!" He said to himself: "Someone is going to catch it for this. Sunday morning is the time for Divine Services and they are running some kind of exercise. It must be the Army." And then he heard: "This is no drill, this is no drill." He ran to the port-hole to look out just in time to see the first of the 353 planes coming across the mountains for the attack on the harbor. The time: 0755.

In Desert Storm, we watched our pilots drop their bombs right down the elevator and ventilator shafts of buildings. It was amazing! But one pilot dropped a bomb right down the smoke stack of the USS ARIZONA. It went five decks down into the boiler room and exploded like a volcano up the stack of the ship, but the most devastating bomb hit the forward magazine area and exploded with the intensity of one-million pounds of TNT. Those who witnessed the ARIZONA said she veritably lifted out of the sea and then settled down to the bottom of the harbor. From the first bomb to her demise was a total of nine minutes.

Today as you go up onto the ARIZONA monument, you see a beautiful marble slab, on which are the names of 1,177 sailors still entombed in that ARIZONA, and two thirds the way down the left hand list, you will read the name Thomas L. Kirkpatrick, Chaplain. He is still on the ARIZONA.

Over on the USS OKLAHOMA was Chaplain Al Schmidt. This was to have been Al Schmidt's last service on board the ship. He had gone three decks down to prepare for the service and to hear confessions. The following week, he would have been transferred over to duty on shore. Suddenly they felt four tremendous explosions. Four torpedoes had struck the port side of the OKLAHOMA. The lights went out. Al, with those in the compartment, made their way out to find an open port-hole. They did. Al Schmidt assisted men out of the port-hole. He then tried to get through it, and couldn't. When they recovered his body weeks later, they discovered he had attached some of his ecclesiastical gear to his belt and that was preventing his getting

through the port-hole. But realizing other men who had come into the compartment were being prevented from escape, he had the men outside push him back in. Four weeks later in a Protestant service in San Francisco, a Jewish sailor told how he lived because a Catholic Chaplain had pushed him out the port-hole. When you go to that visitor's center at Pearl Harbor, pause to look at another slab on the wall. A huge plaque says:

Dedicated to the glory of God and to the Memory of

Captain Thomas L Kirkpatrick CHC, USN Chaplain USS ARIZONA Lieutenant Aloysuis H Schmitt CHC, USN Chaplain USS OKLAHOMA

who gave their lives in the service of their country

7 December, 1941.

Over on the flagship of the fleet, the USS CALIFORNIA, was Chaplain Raye Hohenstein. Some of you will remember the name. Raye was one of us. After he retired from the Navy, Raye joined the Lutheran Council. He used to run the retreats for chaplains during his time. Raye was chaplain on board the USS CALIFORNIA. He became the first chaplain casualty of World War II, other than a fatality. Raye was struck by shrapnel. He had been on the port side of the ship and he was moved as a casualty to the starboard side just before a bomb came down. The rumor on the ship was that our chaplain had been killed. He was evacuated to Aiea hospital on the side of the hill. It was a beautiful location. I stood there at midnight, 1945, the day the Navy celebrated the end of the war. It was a magnificent sight to see. At midnight, all the ships in the harbor set off their rockets and flares, colors, and their search lights went up and pierced the heavens like laser beams, and every ship let loose with their horns and sirens. I remember the destroyer's "woooop, woooop, woooop". It was just a cacophony of sounds. But, December 7th was very, very different.

## **Army Chaplains on Shore**

The Army was also suffering on the shore. You see, the Japanese pilots had meticulously planned the attack. It was assiduously followed. They had choreographed it on an island off of Kyushu for weeks. They knew exactly where every military installation was located: Fort Shafter, Schofield Barracks, Hickam Airfield, Wheeler Airfield, Bellows Airfield, NAS Kaneohe, Marine Corps Ewa Station, Ford Island, the sub base. Every bomber that came in had a 1,760 pound bomb under its belly with the name of a specific ship on it. Nothing was haphazard. It was all planned.

Chaplain Terrence Finnegan stopped at that chapel, to pick up candles. It was 25 minutes before his 0815 service. He just stood out in the sunlight enjoying the warmth of the trade winds. He watched a formation of planes come in. They circled Wheeler Field twice. His first reaction was the same as Chaplain Howell Forgy's. "Someone is going to catch it for this. It must

be the Navy," he said. They then opened their bomb bay doors and the bombs began to come down and he realized what was happening. He went back into his Buick and headed down the road. He almost cracked it up on a culvert to get to the Ewa Plantation Chapel where 700 of his men would be gathered together for services. He dispersed them. He then took off across the countryside for the artillery barracks. Realizing that he was the only officer present, he had the men break open the magazine and mount the guns on the roof of the barracks. Just then a bomb fell killing six of his soldiers. He gave them Last Rights, moved them into a secure place, put the wounded in a car, took off for the hospital and within one hour, 400 litters arrived with the dead and the dying. Thus began the crucial ministry for the day.

Chaplain Harry Richmond was the only Jewish chaplain with the Army. He was doing what every good Jewish chaplain was supposed to do on a Sunday morning. He was resting. But by 0830, he had made it to the Schofield Barracks hospital. With Chaplain Terrance Finnegan, they began their ministry, irrespective of an individual's faith, to the dead and the dying.

There was only one slightly humorous story. Finnegan came upon one young soldier. There was blood on his head, neck, shoulders, down his chest and on his uniform. Finnegan picked up his dog tag, rubbed it and saw a C on it. He leaned over and said, "Son, let's go to confession." The boy nodded and Finnegan prayed. Hours and hours later, working through the hospital, Finnegan came upon the same young man. Now his face was washed. He was under a nice sheet. He picked up the dog tag and it said C. He said, "Son, let's go to confession." The boy nodded and Finnegan prayed. Hours and hours later, he came upon the same young man in a ward. This time his head was bandaged and his face was bandaged. He looked down at the dog tag and saw the letter C, and he said, "Son, let's go to confession." This time, the young man looked up at him and said, "Father, don't you think twice is enough in one day?"

#### Action at Hickam Field

There was nothing comical, however, down at Hickam. Hickam Field was one of the main targets of the attacking planes. The day before, the commander had all of the planes lined up, wing tip to wing tip, on the runway. They were sitting ducks. What the bombers didn't destroy, the strafing planes did. Elmer Tiedt was the chaplain there. His children alerted him. They came running into the house and said, "There are planes with big red balls on their wings and they are flying over the base and they are dropping things all over the place." Elmer Tiedt had already heard the explosions. He looked out, and there was the runway, one mass of flames as well as the hangers. If you go today to Hickam Airfield, notice the main mess hall. They have never removed the bullet marks from the strafing planes.

Chaplain Tiedt went over to the dispensary. Two of the first bodies he found were his clerks. One had been setting up the service, dressing the altar. He was struck by a strafing bullet. We might say, where better to die,

than doing your work at the altar. The other one was trying to man a machine gun and he was caught by the planes and he died. Chaplains Sliney, Mullen and Patrick went over to the hospital at Hickam and began their ministry. The same situation: the stretchers and litters were coming in.

Chaplain Tiedt then, went over to the hospital and received a message: Mrs. Tiedt has been killed. I know of no illustration that better portrays the commitment and dedication of those chaplains in Pearl Harbor than this: it is recounted in both the Air Force and the Army history. Elmer Tiedt, with a burden on his heart, labored all Sunday and all Sunday night, all Monday, and then went home and discovered that the report had been wrong. Mrs. Tiedt was alive, as were the children, and they were well.

## Chaplains in the Docks

Down at the harbor, things were as bad as ever. Chaplain Bill Maguire finally got that motor launch out to the USS CALIFORNIA. They had to detour to a destroyer because some planes came in to attack anything that was moving in the water. But, when he got out to the CALIFORNIA, it was apparent the ARIZONA was gone, the OKLAHOMA was gone, and the CALIFORNIA was the next to sink. The WEST VIRGINIA was the fourth battleship to go down. They had to get the casualties off, so they gave Bill Maguire a motor launch and a crew and he began to ferry the casualties from the CALIFORNIA to the Naval Hospital which was out at Hospital Point. The hospital was equipped for 300 beds. By that night, they had 960 casualties. Every square foot of corridor space was lined with litters. The report said: "The dead were stacked like cord wood outside the door."

He made three runs with casualties to the hospital. On the third one back, however, he ran into a barrier of flames. The problem was the fuel oil seeping out of the ships coming to the surface and igniting. The harbor was a veritable inferno. The ARIZONA today still leaks a gallon of oil a day after these 50 years. Maguire made it over to the shore and waded in the muck. On the beach, he corralled 15 trucks. There were four BOQs down near the water front. He got the mattresses and the blankets out of the BOQs and put them in the back of these trucks.

The sailors on shore were bringing the wounded onto the shore—those that had been blown off the ships, those that had tried to swim through the fire—and they put them into the trucks. Chaplain Maguire commandeered a Navy ferry, the kind they used every day for transporting persons and cars from the shore over to Ford Island NAS. He got the fifteen trucks onto the ferry, and when they passed to the other side, he dispatched them to three different hospitals.

As quickly as the war began, it ended. 0755—0945. 110 minutes, 2,403 dead, 1,178 wounded, 640 unaccounted for. Now began another horrendous task for the chaplains: the ministry to the families. On the same day, they had a ministry to the dead, to the dying, and to the casualties. When the bombing ceased, the families flooded in. They wanted word. The Navy had 10,000 dependents. 1,000 lived on the base and 9,000 lived out in town. The Army had the same. The ARIZONA had gone down with almost

1,200 on board. 400 survived. Who were they and where were they? The OKLAHOMA went down with 400 on board, 1,200 survived. Who were they and where were they? The families wanted to know. Back in those days, there was no casualty assistance office, no family service. The chaplain was the only one who dealt with dependents. You know the Marine Corps adage back in those days: "If the government wanted you to have a wife, they would have issued you one." The chaplain was the one who ministered.

Chaplain H. C. Strause, the only Jewish Chaplain with the Navy, was resting, but he came into his duty station which was the 14th Naval District office. He acquired a newly constructed, but yet uncompleted, warehouse right next to the office and he made that into the receiving station for families. A thousand civilians, including dependents, were casualties in this attack as well. He ministered to them, along with Thornton Miller, the District Chaplain. Chaplain Paul Forsander came off the WEST VIRGINIA when she sank. He ministered to them. Over the next two weeks, those three chaplains ran a 24-hour-a-day shift in ministry to the next of kin of the dead, the dying, and the casualties.

The Navy didn't help matters but we understand why. As soon as the Navy found a survivor from a ship that had gone down, they immediately took that sailor and assigned him to a ship that was seaworthy and sent him out to sea. Oftentimes, it was before he had time to go home and tell his family he was alive, but leaving.

There was one final Herculean task that the chaplains were deeply involved in: the burial of 2,403 dead. The Army and the Navy couldn't keep that many bodies. They had to commence burial immediately. But, first, they had to identify the dead. Chaplain Albin Fortney lived in the Army and Navy YMCA in Honolulu. He was all decked out in his whites for his service at Fort Shafter. He came rolling into the base in the midst of the onslaught, and immediately was given the responsibility at Fort Shafter for identifying the dead. It was the most horrendous task he said he had ever had. So few of the soldiers wore dog tags, they had to use billfolds, letters in the pockets, inscriptions on rings. When that failed, they used tattoos. But, he said, the worst of it all was trying to match up two legs, two arms, a head, and a torso for the burial.

The Army selected a piece of ground in Schofield Barracks. The Navy selected the Nuuanu Cemetery, but they had only 300 plots, so they chose Red Hill, overlooking Pearl Harbor. For both services, the ceremony was the same. A large trench was dug. The chaplains demanded that each plot be surveyed and marked. Thornton Miller was the Navy Chaplain. The honor guard lined up on two sides of this large trench. The firing squad and the bugler were on the third side of the trench and three chaplains on the fourth side of the trench: a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jewish Chaplain. If the faith of the individual was known, that chaplain stepped forward and conducted the interment. If the faith of the deceased was not known, or if the deceased was unknown, as was the case in many instances, all three chaplains stepped forward. A brief scripture, acceptable to all, was read and then each chaplain offered a prayer in the English, in Latin, and in Hebrew.

The integrity of the burial insured that every man could have in death what had been his choice in life. As one of the chaplains later wrote: "The God of the universe heard the prayers of us all."

Pearl Harbor changed America. Pearl Harbor changed the military. The war changed the chaplaincy. The war changed the religious community of America. Many will say that the ecumenical movement was born in the chapels where people of all faiths sat down next to each other where they had never done this before, and sang hymns, and prayed and listened to a chaplain whose faith they didn't know, but, yet, felt spiritually enriched. Three chaplains working together. Pluralistic cooperation. That had seldom happened before.

The war changed the endorsing community, too. Endorsing Agencies were born and they grew up. And you know, we learned pluralistic cooperation back in those days. That's why I look at NCMAF with such joy and satisfaction today. I never cease to give thanks for the way this organization has come together in ministry to the professionalism of the chaplaincy and to the young men and women of the Armed Forces. I know that the God of the universe hears the prayers of us all. God bless you all.

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# For God & Country: The Constitutional Question of the U.S. Army Chaplaincy Gregory J. Darr

Last year, it was Christmas in the Persian Gulf and military chaplains found themselves in a dilemma. Because they were stationed in Saudi Arabia, a nation prohibiting the free exercise of any religious faith other than Islam, chaplains were more or less encouraged to be "invisible." Chaplains, stationed in or near large population centers, removed their collar insignia identifying them as Christian or Jewish. Unit commanders prohibited the display of large crosses and other religious symbols identifying places of worship. Chaplains were called "morale officers" and their worship services "morale meetings." In short, chaplains and their commanders struggled to find a balance between meeting the spiritual needs of their soldiers and soothing Saudi angst.

It was not the first time chaplains found themselves in a delicate political balance. Over the past 200 years, military chaplains have been buffeted by challenges to their morality and their constitutionality. Chaplains themselves have often felt torn between their roles as uniformed officers and ordained ministers.<sup>4</sup>

While there appears to be little or no disagreement as to the need for military ministry, there has been considerable controversy as to the form that ministry should take. This paper briefly surveys the U.S. Army Chaplain

- 1. "Chaplains Minister in the Midst of Islam" Christianity Today, 34:68 (Oct 8, 1990).
  - 2. Id.
- 3. Windsor, Pat "Are Catholic Chaplains Military Officers or God's Priests?" *National Catholic Reporter*, 27:7 (Feb 15, 1991).
- 4. Norman, Michael "Army Chaplains Struggle in Service of Two Masters" New York Times, (July 31, 1982), p. 29.

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Corps and the constitutional questions surrounding its program. It will discuss the development and organization of the Corps, and its mission in light of a recent court challenge, *Katcoff v. Marsh.*<sup>5</sup>

The Army Chaplain Corps has two fundamental missions: to provide and perform comprehensive religious support to soldiers and their families, and to advise commanders on morals, morale and matters as affected by religion.<sup>6</sup>

It is each commander's responsibility to provide for the well-being of his command; this includes meeting the religious and spiritual needs of all members. The chaplain functions as a religious leader and as a staff officer in order to assist the commander in designing and implementing an appropriate Religious Support Plan (RSP). This plan outlines the ways in which comprehensive religious support will be provided to soldiers and their families.<sup>7</sup>

Comprehensive religious support includes pastoral acts, rites, worship, religious education, counseling, battle fatigue interventions and advice to the command.<sup>8</sup> Its three broad functions are to nurture the living, to care for the wounded and to honor the dead.<sup>9</sup>

Chaplains are usually paired with enlisted chaplain's assistants. Together, they make up the Unit Ministry Team (UMT). Chaplain's assistants provide operational and logistical support to the team. <sup>10</sup> Because chaplains are considered non-combatants under the Geneva Convention, chaplain's assistants are also tasked to provide security. <sup>11</sup>

Vietnam-era Army doctrine assigning chaplains no lower than brigade levels often frustrated commanders in providing adequate religious support to combat soldiers. <sup>12</sup> As a result, the Doctrine of Forward Thrust developed. Under this doctrine, Unit Ministry Teams are assigned to battalion levels. Teams are positioned as far forward in combat as possible in order to provide comfort and support. <sup>13</sup>

The Army recruits its chaplains from over 100 different denominations.<sup>14</sup> Each of these denominations must have an endorsing agency recognized by the Armed Forces Chaplains Board.<sup>15</sup> Those denominations without approved endorsing agencies cannot provide military chaplains. Prospective

- 5. Katcoff v. Marsh, 582 F.Supp. 463 (E.D.N.Y., 1984) aff'd 755 F.2d 223 (2nd Cir., 1985).
- 6. Kuehne, Wayne E., James H. Robnolt & Claude D. Newby "The Unit Ministry Team; From Concept to Doctrine" *Military Chaplains' Review*, (Winter 1989), pp.3-4.
- 7. Religious Support Doctrine: The Chaplain and the Chaplain Assistant, FM 16-1 (Nov 1989), Washington: Dept. of the Army. p. 1-6.
  - 8. Id., at 1-1.
  - 9. Id., at 1-6.
  - 10. Id., at 1-13.
  - 11. Id.
  - 12. Kuehne, at 4.
  - 13. FM 16-1, at 1-8.
  - 14. Katcoff, 755 F.2d 223 (1985), at 225.
  - 15. Id.

chaplains must also meet specific educational requirements such as a college degree and three years of seminary training. <sup>16</sup>

Most active duty chaplains are given an initial commission of three years. They undergo a type of chaplain ''basic training'' at the U.S. Army Chaplain Center and School at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. They are also required to attend additional training through out their careers. Many make the Army a career, <sup>17</sup> though recent cuts in Army troop levels will inevitably make this more difficult.

A difficulty many chaplains experience is the conflict arising from assuming two distinct roles: military officer and ordained minister. Many religious leaders see chaplain rank and uniform as "obstacles to ministry, concessions to militarism, and evidence that clergy [are] reversing their role priorities." <sup>18</sup>

A few chaplains concede that it may be difficult to speak out on controversial moral issues or challenge the system. <sup>19</sup> Catholic chaplains, in particular, may have found their jobs more difficult in light of their church's reticence over the Gulf War and its very public stand on the immorality of nuclear arms. Yet, as one Catholic chaplain replied, "I don't have time to teach my soldiers about hypothetical issues. I need to minister to their needs." <sup>20</sup>

Many would agree that a chaplain's first and foremost role is as pastor.<sup>21</sup> Rank and uniform merely facilitate a chaplain's "insider" ministry.<sup>22</sup> John J. Cardinal O'Connor, a former Navy chaplain himself, said that "the general feeling, on the part of enlisted and officer alike, is that this just makes you one with them. That you're all in the same boat. They know precisely how much you get paid, they know the regulations you're subject to. You can go anywhere without restrictions."<sup>23</sup>

While Cardinal O'Connor may have been unrestricted in his ability to go anywhere as a chaplain, the Army Chaplain Corps is not as free. The boundaries of its ministry have been carved out by the Constitution, Congress and Army regulations. Where those boundaries are fuzzy, as they often are, controversies arise. One such controversy landed in federal court in 1979; a case challenging the constitutionality of the entire Army chaplain program.

<sup>16.</sup> Kaplan, Julie B., "Military Mirrors on the Wall: Nonestablishment and the Military Chaplaincy" *The Yale Law Journal*, 95 (6):1210, (May 1986), p. 1214.

<sup>17.</sup> Norman, at 30.

<sup>18.</sup> Northrup, Lesley A. "The Challenge of the Chaplaincy" Military Chaplains' Review, (Winter 1990), p. 8.

<sup>19.</sup> Norman, at 30.

<sup>20.</sup> Windsor.

<sup>21.</sup> Id.

<sup>22.</sup> Northrup, at 8.

<sup>23.</sup> Jones, Arthur "Meet Cardinal O'Connor: With Gold Braid or Red Hat, with John O'Connor 'loyalty is first'" (Interview) National Catholic Reporter, 21:1 (May 3, 1985).

#### Katcoff v. Marsh:

Since the ratification of the First Amendment, courts have been busy sorting out the messy divorce of church and state. Despite Thomas Jefferson's admonition that the Establishment clause is intended to act as a "wall of separation" between the two, few courts have adequately determined how high or solid that wall should be.<sup>24</sup> Yet, over time, several cases have emerged as yardsticks; they frame the background in which the Army chaplaincy was challenged.

The first case in which the U.S. Supreme Court devised a test to measure disputed violations of the Establishment clause is *Abington School District v. Schempp.*<sup>25</sup> The court held, in 1963, that in order to be constitutional a government action must have a "secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion." Specifically addressing the problems created by a military chaplaincy, the court noted that unless the government "permits voluntary religious services to be conducted with the use of government facilities, military personnel would be unable to engage in the practice of their faiths." <sup>27</sup>

In Walz v. Tax Commission of New York, <sup>28</sup> the Supreme Court established, in 1970, an additional requirement; government action must not weave itself into an excessive entanglement between state and religion. <sup>29</sup> The Court advocated a policy of neutrality based upon the Free Exercise and Establishment clauses that would keep government from tipping the balance toward government control of religion or restraint of its practice. <sup>30</sup>

In 1971, the Supreme Court finally articulated, in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, what has come to be known as the "Lemon Test;" <sup>31</sup>

The statute must [first] have a secular legislative purpose; second, its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion... finally, the statute must not foster 'an excessive entanglement with religion.<sup>32</sup>

With one notable exception and a lot of grumbling, this tripartite test remains the Court's primary measuring rod of disputes arising over the Establishment clause.<sup>33</sup>

In 1983, however, the Supreme Court left the "Lemon Test" in the closet and applied a wholly different rationale in finding legislative chaplains constitutional. In *Marsh v. Chambers*, 34 the Court weighed the fact that within days of agreeing on the Bill Rights, the First Congress appointed for itself a chaplain. Because it "has become part of the fabric of our society",

- 24. Ackerman.
- 25. Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203 (1963).
- 26. Id., at 222.
- 27. Id., at 226.
- 28. Walz v. Tax Commission of New York, 397 U.S. 664 (1970).
- 29. Ackerman, at 13.
- 30. Kaplan, at 1223.
- 31. Lemon v. Kurtzman, 403 U.S. 602 (1971).
- 32. Id., at 612-613.
- 33. Ackerman.
- 34. Marsh v. Chambers, 463 U.S. 783 (1983).

the court decided that legislative prayer "is simply a tolerable acknowledgement of beliefs widely held among the people of this country" and is, therefore, constitutional.<sup>35</sup>

It is within this milieu that, in 1979, two Harvard Law School students, Joel Katcoff and Allen M. Wieder, brought suit against the Secretary of the Army alleging the unconstitutionality of the Army Chaplain Program.

The case, *Katcoff v. Marsh*, <sup>36</sup> was eventually heard in 1982, by Judge McLaughlin of the U.S. District Court, Eastern District of New York.

Plaintiffs filed suit as taxpayers; thus the issue was "whether Congress, acting under its explicit constitutional authority [under Article I, § 8] to raise and support armies, had in carrying out that authority transgressed the equally explicit guarantee of individual rights contained in the Establishment Clause.<sup>37</sup> Plaintiffs certainly felt so, and held up as their argument the three-pronged "Lemon Test."

The Army replied that the Chaplaincy is necessary for the maintenance of good morale and thus serves a secular purpose. More importantly, the Free Exercise Clause requires the government to provide opportunities for worship and religious expression to all military personnel. The current program makes this possible in remote and overseas assignments as well as during combat when civilian clergy may be unavailable.<sup>38</sup>

While plaintiffs did not dispute the need for military ministry, they proposed that a voluntary civilian chaplaincy, funded and supported by various denominations, would meet the Army's Free Exercise needs without raising constitutional hackles. They used as their example the Wisconsin Synod of the Lutheran church, which conducts its own military ministry outside the Army bureaucracy.<sup>39</sup>

Military considerations, the Army responded, made such a program unfeasible. According to one brief, the Wisconsin Synod could not adequately meet the religious needs of its own military members. Such a program, Army-wide, would risk constitutional challenge on the basis of the Free Exercise Clause. Thus, the Army summed up, the uniqueness of military life requires the Government to actively fund and provide for the Chaplaincy in order to meet the Free Exercise needs of soldiers and their families. 40

In reaching his decision, Judge McLaughlin cited a 1981 Supreme Court decision, Rostker v. Goldberg, 41 upholding the Selective Service System. He explained that courts must give greater deference to Congressional action involving the military. While judicial review is available, courts should not substitute their own conclusions, based upon the same evidence, for those of Congress. Thus, Judge McLaughlin reasoned, the court was "unequipped and unempowered" to determine whether the Free

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35. Id., at 792.
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<sup>36.</sup> Katcoff, 582 F.Supp. 463 (1984).

<sup>37.</sup> Id., at 473.

<sup>38.</sup> Id., at 474.

<sup>39.</sup> Id., at 475.

<sup>40.</sup> Id., at 474.

<sup>41.</sup> Rostker v. Goldberg, 453 U.S. 57 (1981).

Exercise rights of soldiers could be met through a civilian chaplaincy. 42

Given the precedent established by *Marsh v. Chambers*, the long history of the Chaplaincy, and its continued oversight by Congress, the District Court held that "the Army Chaplaincy Program is a constitutionally permissible means to a constitutionally mandated ends."<sup>43</sup>

In 1985, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, affirmed the District Court's decision.<sup>44</sup> The Court of Appeals, however, relied more heavily on an analysis of the "Lemon Test".

It was clear to the Appeals Court that, taken in isolation, the Army chaplaincy failed to meet the constitutional conditions established by the "Lemon Test." The Court reasoned, however, that the test was limited; while appropriate in some contexts, it was mitigated by others. 46

The issues surrounding the Army chaplaincy involved two other Constitutional provisions compatible with the Establishment Clause; the War Power Clause of Article I, § 8, and the Free Exercise Clause. These two clauses substantially altered the context of the case and rendered the "Lemon Test" inappropriate.<sup>47</sup>

In turning to plaintiffs' proposal for a civilian Chaplaincy, the Court responded that such a program appeared to be impractical in light of the costs it would impose on religious denominations and its uncertain organization. Moreover, even if the proposal were feasible, it would still fail the "Lemon Test"; publicly-funded logistical support to train, house and feed civilian chaplains must still be provided. 49

In short, because "an impractical alternative is no alternative at all," the Appeals Court, in deference to Congress, held the Army Chaplaincy to be constitutional. It did, however, remand to the District Court for further review, whether the Army chaplaincy was constitutional in large urban areas where the religious needs of military personnel could be met by civilian clergy. 50

While the Appeals Court decision affirmed the constitutionality of the Army Chaplaincy, the case left its mark on the Chaplain Corps. In the years since *Katcoff*, the Chaplaincy has shored up its defenses with regard to both the Establishment and the Free Exercise clauses. In doing so, it has redefined its ministry making it, in essence, more military and more pluralistic.

### A Changing Chaplaincy

A linchpin of the Army's defense of the chaplaincy is the program's uniqueness. Military ministry is demanding. It requires specialized training

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42. Katcoff, 582 F.Supp. 463 (1984), at 477.
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<sup>43.</sup> Id.

<sup>44.</sup> Katcoff v. Marsh, 755 F.2d 223 (2nd Cir., 1985).

<sup>45.</sup> Id., at 232.

<sup>46.</sup> Id., at 233.

<sup>47.</sup> Id., at 235.

<sup>48.</sup> Id., at 236.

<sup>49.</sup> Id., at 237.

<sup>50.</sup> Id., at 238.

and support. Most chaplains would argue, as well, that it requires its ministers to be integrated into the Army, subject to its mission requirements and discipline.

In proposing a civilian chaplaincy, plaintiffs in *Katcoff* attempted to dispel the uniqueness of military chaplaincy. One practice they pointed to was the Army's policy of contracting civilian clergy to perform chaplain duties. <sup>51</sup> Contract clergy are used on a very limited basis to meet worship and religious needs when chaplains are unavailable. For example, because of the shortage of Catholic chaplains, some military communities are compelled to contract civilian priests to conduct worship and perform sacramental rites.

The Chaplaincy is sensitive to the appearance contract clergy convey. To the extent civilian clergy are contracted to do military ministry, the uniqueness of the Chaplaincy is reduced. In essence, the presence of civilian clergy provides fodder for arguments that military ministry is best handled by civilian chaplains.

As a result of *Katcoff*, the Army has reinforced strict rules governing the use of civilian clergy.<sup>52</sup> One paper issued at a Chaplain's conference called for an evaluation of all existing contracts for civilian clergy on the basis of need, nonavailability of Army chaplains and the value of civilian services.<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, the Appeals Court remand that military chaplains may be unconstitutional in large urban areas has encouraged the Chaplaincy to curtail the involvement of civilian clergy.<sup>54</sup>

Meanwhile, the Chaplaincy has publicly reinforced the uniqueness of its ministry. One aspect of that uniqueness is the chaplaincy's "ministry of presence." 55

One civilian rabbi, commenting on his experience working with Navy chaplains, noted, "In my [civilian] world, worship is pursued primarily in public places and standard occasions. It is a scheduled event, a public phenomenon, something you gather for—Sunday Mass, evening prayer, Shabbat services and so forth... Much lower down in the worship hierarchy are those occasions when prayers emerge spontaneously, or when they are evoked by circumstances no one could have foreseen. In the Navy, this "normal" order of things is reversed. Sabbath services are available... but few people attend. Yet prayer is alive and well in precisely the unplanned occasions to which most civilians give short shrift." His sentiments would likely be shared by most Army chaplains.

The Army doctrine of "Forward Thrust," developed contemporaneously

- 51. Katcoff, 582 F.Supp. 463 (1984), at 477.
- 52. Id.
- 53. Id.
- 54. Mathis, Rick D. "Constitutional Guidelines for the Military Chaplain Evangelist and Chaplaincy" *Military Chaplains' Review*, (Fall 1991), p. 6.
- 55. Martin, Richard K. "Unit Ministry: A View from the Other Side" Military Chaplains' Review, (Winter 1989), p. 13.
- 56. Hoffman, Lawrence A., "Even on the Winds of War, Liturgy Sails;; *National Catholic Reporter*, 27:20 (Feb 15, 1991).

with the *Katcoff* litigation, places chaplains as far forward on the battlefield as possible. In Army terms, "Forward Thrust" can be thought of as the operational definition of "ministry of presence." This requires specialized training and support generally unavailable to civilian clergy, such as attending to casualties and battle-fatigued soldiers. It also requires that chaplains and their assistants be "trusted members of the unit who share in the rigors of battle." The Army argues that this is more easily accomplished when chaplains wear the same uniforms, obey the same orders, and place themselves in the same hazardous situations as soldiers.

By restricting the use of contract clergy and developing the "Forward Thrust" doctrine, the Army chaplaincy has made its ministry more unique by making it, in a sense, less civilian and more military.

While the chaplaincy's uniqueness may fend off an alternative civilian program, it does little to dispel nagging constitutional suspicions. Thus, when faced with the Establishment Clause, the Chaplaincy's best defense has been the Free Exercise Clause. Since *Katcoff*, it has become the constitutional cornerstone of the entire chaplaincy program. Yet, this cornerstone has its own burden, forcing the chaplaincy to respond to a number of issues.

In 1986, the House of Representatives ordered the Pentagon to study reasons for the chaplaincy's shortage of Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish chaplains. At the time, for example, Roman Catholics made up 23% of the Army but only 15% of its chaplains. This ratio has continued to deteriorate.

At issue is the free exercise needs of Catholic soldiers and, to a lesser extent, Jewish and Orthodox soldiers. A skewed balance of faith among chaplains could be used to argue violations of both the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses.

The Army responded in 1987 by introducing a new recruiting program offering Catholic priests an initial commission of two years instead of the traditional three.<sup>60</sup> The Military Archdiocese of the Catholic Church also launched, to some controversy, an effort to recruit candidates for priesthood from the thousands of single men who depart the military each year. In addition to their seminary studies, candidates would receive specialized training in military ministry. It was hoped that such a program would help alleviate the shortage of priests and Catholic chaplains.<sup>61</sup> As of yet, however, the shortage of priests nationwide continues to be felt in the chaplaincy, compelling it to use contract priests.<sup>62</sup>

As American society and its military become more pluralistic, the chaplaincy is also faced with meeting the free exercise needs of soldiers

<sup>57.</sup> FM 16-1, at 1-9.

<sup>58. &</sup>quot;Pentagon is Asked to Study the Chaplaincy's Balance of Faith" *National Catholic Reporter*, 22:3 (Sep 5, 1986).

<sup>59. &</sup>quot;Chaplaincy Imbalance (Catholic priests underrepresented in the Armed Forces)" The Christian Century, 102:1112 (Dec 4, 1985).

<sup>60. &</sup>quot;Uncle Sam wants you, Father," National Catholic Reporter, 23:2 (Jul 31, 1987).

<sup>61.</sup> Dale, Maryclaire "Military Archdiocese Looks to Ranks for a Few Good Men" National Catholic Reporter, 23:21 (Mar 27, 1987).

<sup>62.</sup> Northrup, at 11.

from outside traditional Jewish and Christian faiths, and from non-denominational evangelical Christian movements.

Almost all non-Western religions, and many evangelical and charismatic churches lack endorsing agents through which chaplains are provided. In order to have an endorsing agency, a religion must be organized such that, among other things, it has a "recognized seminary or training institution that grants or revokes clergy credentials." <sup>63</sup> These requirements preclude many religions from providing military chaplains.

In 1987, the Buddhist Churches of America became the first church outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition to be recognized as an endorsing agent for military chaplains. <sup>64</sup> While the framework exists to commission a Buddhist chaplain, no candidate has yet stepped forward. <sup>65</sup>

Other faith groups have also indicated interest in placing military chaplains—The Church of Ancient Wisdom, The Universal Life Church, The Hare Krishnas, The B'hai, and the Echankar. 66 But, like Islam and other religions, no endorsing agency yet exists to funnel clergy into the chaplaincy. The demands of the Free Exercise clause in a pluralistic military have, however, compelled the chaplaincy to broaden its focus beyond Judeo-Christian tradition. Chaplains now may find themselves arranging worship opportunities for Moslems or obtaining literature for Hindus. 67

The chaplaincy is also faced with the "Protestant Problem;" meeting the Free Exercise needs of a diverse Protestant congregation without establishing a religion based upon certain "common denominators."

The traditional solution to Protestant worship has been the "Collective Protestant Service." But more and more soldiers from evangelical and charismatic faiths, from particular ethnic groups, and from Episcopal and Orthodox traditions, are demanding their own worship services. Scheduling and supporting these without favoritism to one or the other has become a problem. <sup>70</sup>

In responding to the free exercise needs of its soldiers, the chaplaincy has become more pluralistic. This pluralism does more than shore up the chaplaincy's free exercise argument; it provides another "constitutional pillar" in support of the chaplaincy itself. If Madison felt that the best way to separate church and state is to promote religious pluralism, then the

<sup>63. &</sup>quot;Historic Precedent (Buddhists in the armed forces may be ministered to by chaplains of their faith)" *The Christian Century*, 104:1024 (Nov 18, 1987).

<sup>64.</sup> Id.

<sup>65.</sup> Northrup, at 12.

<sup>66.</sup> Chambers, S. David, "History of the National Conference on Ministry to the Armed Forces" *Military Chaplains' Review*, (Winter 1990), p. 123.

<sup>67.</sup> Mathis, at 22.

<sup>68.</sup> Chambers, S. David, "The Protestant Problem" Military Chaplains Review, (Fall 1987).

<sup>69.</sup> Cavanaugh, William T., Jr., "The United States Military Chaplaincy Program: Another Seam in the Fabric of our Society?" *Notre Dame Law Review*, 59 (1):181 (1983), p. 190.

<sup>70.</sup> Chambers, "Protestant Problem," at 84.

<sup>71.</sup> Mathis, at 22.

chaplain must be an agent of its expression.<sup>72</sup> To do anything less is to risk constitutional challenge.

Like St. Martin of Tours, the First Amendment slices the constitutional cloak of religious freedom two ways; non-establishment of a state religion and freedom to exercise one's religion of choice. As the military chaplaincy evolves, it must find a way to keep these two clauses stitched together. Where the seam frays, the cloak will do little to protect soldiers and their families needing the warmth of spiritual comfort.

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### God Save the Regiment

Through wet and wind, I pray,
God save the Regiment,
By my side be,
Harden these feet of clay,
Give me strength;
I ride into battle today.

Side by side we took our stand
For God, for country
For friend and family.
Let justice dwell in our land.
We looked hell in the face,
And felt its cold hand.

Amid screams of hurt was sent
One last faint echo
Of freedom's cry,
Like spark of flint
And hushed whispers,
God save the Regiment.

Death's dark hand did rise,
My dear friend, my brother
His best he gave,
Lies still and closes his eyes,
But in his Regiment
His spirit never dies.

Old Glory now tucked away,
The bugle's sad song drowned.
His shed blood
Blessed the earth today.
His memory and the Regiment
Now lights the way.

When time with wings has went
And the dimming of the light
To this old trooper comes,
My last report then sent,
I stood my post,
God save the Regiment.

William T. Barbee Chaplain (Captain) US Army

In honor of the soldiers of the Thirty Second Armor Regiment

### Welcome, Family of the New Millennium

#### Marcelline J. St. Pierre

You come forward bearing the wounds, the scars of a long, difficult struggle; yet, you courageously forge ahead filled wit the hope of an enduring love. What do you ask of us?

The family album displays a multi-colored mosaic of faces ready to experience life in joy and suffering, in light and darkness...

Will you really make room in your hearts and in your world for the gifts of all racial, ethnic and religious expressions? Will you attempt to build bridges across language barriers or will you settle again for the "comfort" of ghetto existence?

As technology increasingly invades the inner sanctum of personal and community living . . .

Who will invite to a dynamic rebirth of the human and the spiritual? Who will nurture those realities to transforming power?

As Families get in touch with a dysfunctional legacy contaminated with health threatening addictions...

Who will challenge to recognize and redress? Who will offer the healing balm of understanding, enlightenment, and support?

As Fragmentation almost reaches the point of destruction in family relationships...

Who will lead to the rediscovery of a spiritual center which can regather the fragments and reforge a new web of life giving relationships?

When the gift of life is welcome in a healthy family...

Marcelline St. Pierre, Canadian by birth, has been a Director of Religious Education in the Army for 15 years. She currently works at Fort Eustis, VA, and has previously served at Fort Bliss Texas. She holds a M.A. in Religious Education from Fordham University.

## Will someone nurture the family to full bloom or will new life be taken for granted and left to survive or even vegetate in isolation?

When despair and death visit families . . .

#### Who will companion and grieve with these communities?

As monoparental and blended families increase in number...

## Who will create a mentoring community where growth can thrive and happiness be genuine?

In the face of violence and abuse that disfigure every aspect of the human person . . .

# Who will have the courage to tear down the masks, disinfect the wounds, and till the soil until self-esteem and self-worth really take roots?

When family members savor happiness in their commitment to each other . . .

## Who will affirm and strengthen the bonds of harmony while confronting the possibility of smugness in front of people in need?

When busyness and a career fast track becomes an addiction riddled with stress...

## Who will engineer a "downshift" allowing the aches and needs of individuals, of families, to surface, to be listened to?

When selfishness motivates the manipulation of life at various stages . . .

#### Who will kneel in prayerful discernment?

When families struggle with disappearing resources; when the planet begs for care . . .

#### Who will work with intentionality on a blueprint for quality of life?

When employment-sharing reshapes the marketplace and augments the length of leisure hours...

### Will someone channel the newly-found gift toward benevolent, non-remunerated service?

When one's profession of the cause of peace steals a member from the family unit for an extended period of time...

## Who will motivate families to design strategies for stability of life during separation and realistic adjustments when reunion is celebrated?

As technology draws nations into closer and more frequent exchange...

## Will someone spearhead the integration of gifts toward collaborative service to better the global community?

Yes, the vision is blinding and the urgency overwhelming. In isolation, we may feel crippled, but in solidarity we can meet the future with hope. Will we choose to be fellow pilgrims who journey with the daily struggles and victories? Or will we act as tired tourists bemoaning the sad state of affairs as we simply pass through?

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#### **Book Reviews**

## Military Brats—Legacies of Childhood Inside the Fortress

Mary Edwards Wertsch New York: Harmony Books, 1991

Mary Edwards Wertsch, a journalist, has written an admittedly unscientific overview of the unique experience of service "brats," a phenomenon of the military subculture. Her approach is entirely subjective, for she writes from her negative experience as a child of a career officer, and the psychological scars she received colors her view of military life. The tip-off is found in the introduction, by Pat Conroy, author of *The Great Santini*, which stereotypically portrays the worst excesses of overbearing, insecure service parents. Wertsch states that Conroy's book inspired her to write about her experience and to seek out other service brats. The result is a dreary, gloomy indictment upon the military for fostering a system which has destroyed the lives of family members.

I must admit my own bias in that I, too, am a service brat. My dad was a CW4 and I grew up in Germany and posts along the East Coast, changing schools every few years, saying good-bye to friends, making new ones. I wish Mary Wertsch had interviewed me, or some of my friends. I'd even risk having her talk to my two kids. We could have told her the "rest of the story". For many, military life is a rich, rewarding experience. What we lack in rootedness, we gain in the exciting opportunities to travel and encounter various cultures first hand. My dad was no "Great Santini". He did not bring his rank and attitudes home or treat his family like basic training recruits.

For a sociological study of the service brat experience, the books to turn to are the classics such as *Military Families* by Hunter & Nice, *Families in the Military System* by McCubbin & Dahl, and *The Military Family* by Kaslow & Ridenour. Wertsch acknowledges these scholarly works, but apparently was not influenced by their objective conclusions which reveal both the stressors and rewards of military life.

Chaplain (MAJ) Robert G. Leroe U.S. Army

### Deep Prayer: Healing for the Hurting Soul

Paul DeBlassie III Crossroad, New York, 1990. 154pp., \$14.95

Dr. Paul DeBlassie, author of the book *Inner Calm*, is a Christian Psychologist. He is founder and director of the Christian Psychological Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico, a clinical practice for adults, children, and families.

Deep Prayer is undoubtedly one of the most rewarding books I have ever read. Let me hasten to add that this judgment is not based on an intellectual analysis. Rather, as "deep answers to deep" this book has been true food for my soul. This should not be interpreted to mean DeBlassie has given us light fare, or frivolous, superficial warm fuzzies. Rather, he is a well-trained psychologist and the evidence of his expertise and experience are abundant. Instead, this book is one of those few volumes that, while appealing to one's reason and intellect, does not stop there but continues until it reaches and penetrates the heart. DeBlassie is a modern-day Loyola and these are his Spiritual Exercises.

John Sanford in his Introduction remarks that there is no definition of deep prayer to be found in this book. Indeed, this is the case. And, just as it is impossible to describe the tart sweetness of an orange to one who has never tasted the fruit, even so it would be impossible to describe deep prayer to one who has never experienced it. However, anyone who has ever paced the floor of a hospital waiting room in the wee hours of the morning, or cried out to God for a glimmer of light to break through the coal-black darkness of uncertainty, for such a one there will be immediate recognition. DeBlassie is describing a state of complete dependence, an admission of impotence, a solemn surrender that accepts the words, "Without me, you can do nothing" as an essential confession of faith.

DeBlaisse writes as a psychologist; but his teaching is first and foremost that of a disciple. He further identifies himself as a Roman Catholic and his love for that church is evident. More importantly, however, he portrays himself as a Christian and it is clear that he has a deep and abiding love for Christ and all of His Church. In other words, this book cuts across those issues that divide and focuses on the common faith that all followers of Christ share. As a chaplain in the line unit where doing is valued more highly than being, I needed this grace-filled reminder to return to the source of my strength. With the tyranny of the urgent as an ongoing occupational hazard for those in the military chaplaincy, I would think that most chaplains could similarly benefit from DeBlassie's challenge to spiritual depth. Turn aside, and find "healing for the hurting soul."

Chaplain (CPT) R.J. Gore, Jr. U.S. Army

# Clergy Ethics in a Changing Society: Mapping the Terrain

James P. Wind, Russell Burck, Paul F. Camenisch, and Dennis P. McCann (editors)

Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991 Paper, 303 pp., \$18.95

The editors are members of the Chicago Area Clergy Ethics Study Group.

Readers attracted to this book by the title or the back cover statement that "this volume is perhaps the most complete study available on clergy ethics," will be disappointed. Although some of the contributors have parish experience, this is an academic text. Most of the essay are theoretical, dealing with issues of clergy professionalization, varieties of American ecclesiastical traditions, the role of women in the Church, and the locus of power in the church. This diversity means the book lacks a clear focus. Nonetheless, several essays are fascinating and useful reading. The contributors are Christian and Jewish, occupying the center-to-left range of the theological spectrum.

Of the 14 essays, I will highlight four that I found particularly important in what was to me a generally uninteresting book. Rebecca Chopp advocates a liberationist approach to ministry. Few will be convinced by her approach, but all need to consider seriously her challenge to the "business as usual" approach to ministry. We need to affirm standards of excellence and responsibility in professional ministry while eschewing modern bureaucratic tendencies. Instead of seeking popularity with our congregations, we should strive to be artists, community builders, teachers, and prophets. Our task, says Chopp, is to transform the church and society.

James Wind's survey of clergy ethics in modern fiction promises much, but is too brief to satisfy. He looks at works by Walker Percy, J. F. Powers, Andrew Greeley, and John Updike to see what they can tell us about the contemporary stage of clergy ethics. Wind concludes that the American fictional portrait of clergy is anti-institutional and, if the portrait is correct, the state of American clergy is unhealthy.

Paul Camenisch examines clergy ethics in terms of the professional ethics model. He concludes clergy are professionals who, because of their higher calling, must live by a higher ethical standard than society expects of other professionals. If the rewards of professionalism prove seductive, clergy must be ready to renounce their professional status and even stand outside of and against their society.

Robert Michael Franklin explains the special role of Black clergy in American society. Because it is so helpful in understanding Black society and Black clergy, this essay deserves wider circulation than this volume offers. Franklin describes how historically clergy have spoken for and led the American Black community because of the status and authority their role

conferred. The essay also explains why and in what way Black churches differ from white in their expectations of the clergy.

This book is a prolegomenon to clergy ethics, not a study of clergy ethics. Those looking for help with ethical problems of clergy life will find little help here. Despite contributions by several parish clergy, this volume is much too theoretical and too little practical; chaplains should look elsewhere for help with their ethical dilemmas.

CH (MAJ), Douglas McCready PAARNG

### Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World

R. S. Sugirtharajah, Editor Orbis Books, 1991 Soft Cover, 454 pages, \$19.95

R.S. Sugirtharijah is Lecturer in Third World Theologies at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England. A native of Sri Lanka, he has taught biblical interpretation at Serampore College, Calcutta, and Tamilnadu Theological Seminary in Madurai, South India.

In the Summer of 1991 I had the privilege of participating in à two-week seminar on Third World hermeneutics. This book was a prime source of our discussion material. Dr. Sugirtharajah was the instructor. He modeled what the book reveals, a thorough knowledge of the issues involved in looking at interpreting the Bible in the Third World.

Sugi, as he prefers, provides us with an excellent source for reading in this growing field of interpretive literature. The book's material comes from books, journals and conference proceedings. Twenty-five of the thirty-two essays appeared in print since 1985.

The book has five parts, each containing from five to nine essays.

Part One addresses the "Use of the Bible: Methods, Principles and Issues". Writers and themes include Clodovis Boff (Brazil) "Hermeneutics", Stanley Samartha (India) "The Asian Context," Itumeleng Mosala (South Africa) "The Use of the Bible in Black Theology," Elsa Tamez (Costa Rica) "Women's Rereading of the Bible," and Jose Miquez-Bonino (Argentina) "Marxist Critical Tools."

Part Two looks at the "Re-Use of the Bible" and has authors explore the meaning and use of selected Biblical portions in the context of their homeland. Consider "Jesus and the Minjung in the Gospel of Mark" (South Korea), "Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation: The Case of Micah" (South Africa), "Water...John 2:1-11" (India), "Song and Deliverance" (Peru), "Class in the Bible" (India), Racial Motifs in the Biblical Narratives (USA), "The David-Bathsheba Story and the Parable of Nathan" (Hong Kong), "The Equality of Women...I Corinthians 11" (Pakistan), and "Solomonic Model of Peace" (Philippines).

Part Three looks at the Exodus from a variety of perspectives. Writers come from Nicaraqua, South Korea, Cameroun, Asia, Israel, and the USA.

Part Four shows examples of Multi-faith hermeneutics. Excellent writers from Hong Kong, India, Japan, Sri Lanka, and Thailand address issues with a faith informed by dialogue with those outside the Christian community.

The fifth section looks at "People as Exegetes" through writers from Malawai, Nicaraqua, Indonesia, South Africa and China.

Sugirtharajah provides a helpful service to those interested in the way Third World theologians read the Bible. The references with each essay open additional doors for study. While learning about the Third World, the reader can strengthen his or her own understanding of the Bible.

Voices From the Margin helps the reader appreciate more fully the message of the Bible for the whole world rather than limiting it to the West. These writers address the Bible from experiences of injustice, oppression, hunger and exploitation. Issues such as racism, sexism, class struggle and religious triumphalism take on new meaning when addressed by scholars and non-scholars from Africa, Asia, or Latin America rather than the typical scholars from the universities of Europe and America. Listen to the Voices. Your time will be well spent.

CH (LTC) Kenneth M. Ruppar US Army

### A Soul Under Siege: Surviving Clergy Depression

C. Welton Gaddy Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991 Paperback, 174 pages, \$11.95

A Soul Under Siege surveys the treacherous territory of clergy depression through the personal story of Reverend C. Gaddy, who was the pastor of Highland Hills Baptist Church, Macon, Georgia.

This book answers the questions what pastors do when they get depressed. It also provides some personal insights shared with the reader from the perspective of a pastor whose depression became so severe he was admitted to a psychiatric hospital and subsequently resigned his pastorate.

The author, by telling his story, drives home the point that most clergy ignore or silence the early warning signs of depression by working more and accepting the myths surrounding clergy depression. Areas of ministry that can be most affected when pastors become depressed are pulpit, visitation, counseling, and administrative. Each of these are treated by the author as he relates his story.

This is not a "how-to" book on depression. It is more confessional and was not initially intended for public consumption (the author was encouraged to "go public" by his mentor and friend, Wayne Oates).

The author makes another point which became, for me, a good

summary of the book: Academic and intellectual knowledge about depression does not always serve us to cope with and survive the realities of experiencing depression. By this summary I sense that the author is trying to express that there is much about depression that is uniquely individual and personal—hence the personal format of the book.

The last chapter, and the one I appreciated most, gives the author's "lessons learned" from his ordeal. Rev. Gaddy seems to be saying that ministry which loses its proper perspective can become a grinding endeavor and that pastors can become unwitting victims of the process. The last chapter provides that proper perspective for the pastor and the church he or she serves. From a practical standpoint, A Soul Under Siege, is good reading for pastors, military and civilian.

Chaplain (Major) Joe Gibilisco U.S. Army

# **Becoming A Self Before God: Critical Transformations**

Romney M. Moseley Nashville/Abingdon Press, 1991 Soft Cover, 143 pages, \$13.95

Romney M. Moseley serves as an Associate Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.

The title of this book excited me as I thought about becoming an authentic person before God and being transformed. The integration of psychology, developmental theory and spirituality sounds intriguing. The book itself is full of useful insights and critiques of the theories of Lawrence Kohlberg, James Fowler, Carl Jung and others. Unfortunately, the majority of the book reads like a text book or a set of published lectures.

The author examines a number theories of psychological and faith development. He does this to demonstrate how kenotic (meaning to empty oneself) theology best describes how people become a self before God. He states, "There is no place in kenoticism for Promethean individualism or religious triumphalism. A kenotic theology of Christian becoming shifts the axis of the moral life away from the achievements of the autonomous subject toward anamnestic solidarity with victims. It infuses our accomplishments and success with the awesome pain of God in the humiliation of Christ." Christians are being called to go into the world to embrace suffering, risk and be transformed.

If you fully understand the quote above, I recommend this book to you. It is too bad, for with some editing or rewriting, this book could reach a wider audience. The author's thesis and insight into faith development deserves a hearing. This book will meet your need if you are looking for an academic volume. If you prefer reading geared for professional church

leaders or of a more popular vain, you will want to pass over *Becoming A Self Before God: Critical Transformations*.

CH (CPT) Robert J. McGeeney, Jr. U.S. Army

# The Mystery of My Story: Autobiographical Writing for Personal and Spiritual Growth

Paula Ferrell Sullivan
Paulist Press, 1991
Paperback, 110 pages, \$5.95

Paula Ferrell Sullivan currently teaches composition and creative writing at Tulsa Junior College. Her own autobiographical journal became the basis for this book and the development of her three-day "Mystery of My Story" retreat and workshop. She is a former editor of the Eastern Oklahoma Catholic newspaper.

"By writing down the stories accumulated as we journey through life, we begin to recognize some of the paradoxes, both human and divine, and step into the mystery of the religious way."

This small book is an excellent "how-to" guide to personal and spiritual development via reflection on our past and unfinished histories. It is not a book to be read; it is a companion to the act of writing. Those seeking instant, painless or effortless entrance into the rhythm of God's work won't find it here.

Autobiography is often used to record personal chronological history. Recently, this format has been revived as a powerful tool of self understanding and personal growth. Ms. Sullivan has written this book and developed her workshop around using the autobiographical method as a means of discovering the Mystery and presence of God in our lives.

Chapter One speaks to the values of writing out one's own story. Chapter Two discusses several broad frameworks for the construction of that story. The rest of the book is filled with useful suggestions for recovering that story from the depths of memory. Illustrations, from her retreatworkshops, provide the common human connection to the task of putting the story down on paper. You can read the book in two hours and spend the next six months utilizing and absorbing the recommended techniques.

Writing our history leads to self-awareness. Sharing our story and listening to another's story transcends self-centeredness. It can also move us to perceiving the timelessness of God's activity in all of human existence, including ours.

Ms. Sullivan's book provides a useful tool for thoughtful reflection. However spiritual growth is, as always, the fruit of intentional spade work.

LCDR D.C. Branscum, CHC U.S. Navy

# Dream Symbol Work: Unlocking the Energy from Dreams and Spiritual Experiences

Patricia H. Berne and Louis M. Savary Paulist Press, 1991 Soft Cover, 164 pages, \$11.95

Dreams are an integral part of human life. Not all of us remember all the symbols of all our dreams. Yet, there are times when a symbol in a dream is so powerful that it is carried into our waking life. The main idea of DREAM SYMBOL WORK is that a symbol dynamic enough to burst from dream to our conscious awareness has power to release spiritual energy. Life is filled with symbols (p.1); symbols have meaning and thus have energy (p.1); symbolism is the language of dreams (p.2); therefore, dreams have spiritual energy (p.2). "Spiritual energy... is the ability to do spiritual work, such as creating, forgiving, believing, discerning, transmitting life, affirming oneself, showing compassion, giving meaning to things, making commitments." (p.2-3) DREAM SYMBOL WORK is not a dictionary of symbols and meanings, nor it is an encyclopedia of possible dream interpretations. It is a step-by-step, systematic outline allowing the individual's own symbolic meanings and spiritual energy to be realized. The book is divided into three parts. The first and third parts go together. The first is an exploration of one of the author's dreams using the fifteen symbol techniques presented in the book. The third is an outline and commentary on each technique. The second part is a thought provoking reflection on spirituality, wholeness, and dreams.

For the person who desires to explore dream meanings and energies, DREAM SYMBOL WORK is a highly informative and instructive book to that end. Without prejudice or undue influence, it presents a comprehensive method for becoming aware of dream symbols in depth and for releasing into action the spiritual energy within them. This impacts upon our inner life of personality, integrity, and spiritual growth. It also brings action to our outer life in relationship to others, to environs, and to vocation. Though a bit convoluted with part II interrupting the flow of explaining the symbol techniques, this is a very productive book. You will not read this book to merely gain new insights. By simply opening the cover, you are immediately immersed in working to release the spiritual energy of your dream symbols.

Chaplain (MAJ) James P. Crews U.S. Army

# Spiritual Grandparenting, Bringing Our Grandchildren to God

Therese M. Boucher Crossroad Publishing Company, New York, 1991 Hard Cover, 144 pages, \$14.95

Therese M. Boucher is currently on the staff of Charism, a lay ministry and spirituality institute in the Diocese of Rockville Center, NY.

Friends placed hands on the shoulders of the author and her husband, then 37, and prayed God's protection and an awareness of God's love upon their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. This "premature" experience intrigued the author, and this book on the paths of intimacy that are the center of grandparenting resulted.

She notes that children close to grandparents experience them as nurturer, teacher, role model, wisdom figure, person of faith, historian and oracle—with a premise that people of different ages need each other. Grandparents can look with God's eyes for a child's gifts; dreams and visions can be an important part of grandparenting. Holidays with grandparents emphasize the emotional family homestead and tie us to the past and future (the author notes great value in having all ages around the same table as we build historical continuity.) Bridge-building ties us to children's children born into a world and era that is not quite ours, yet where we can aid our adult children as apprentices. Tensile strength results that supports fragile life.

Grandparents are family historians in the richest sense and through their life struggles prepare younger family members for their own old age and death. In the role of "personalized godparents" grandparents can see each family member as fashioned by God with inherent dignity and worth.

God's generous love can be seen in grandparent love. Grandparents are especially valuable in crisis situations; they can be a place of love and shelter in family troubles. Grandparents' intercessory prayer can bring God's strength for a loved one's problems.

In conclusion the author states, "There are many styles of spiritual grandparenting that encompass decisions and activities involving our most human selves... We can watch for natural paths to a lively faith in God."

This book offers special strength in an era of fractured homes and families by bringing the supportive role of grandparent for stability in developing lives. Each chapter provides a practical section "For Reflection, Sharing and Discussion" that makes the book especially useful as a person or group study text.

Chaplain (COL) Wayne R. Ward USA, Retired

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MA	tel Service Anagement and Circula 9 U.S.C. 3685)	ATION
A, TITLE OF PUBLICATION	18. PUBLICATION N	O. 2. DATE OF FILING
MILITARY CHAPLAINS' REVIEW	0 3 6 0 9 6	9 3 16 JAN 92
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE	3A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISH ANNUALLY	HED 3B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION
Quarterly (every 3 months)	4	None
COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION US ARMY CHAPLAINCY SERVICES SUPPORT AC 1730 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON DC 20		
COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENER	AL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUB	LISHER (Not printer)
Same as item #4		
S. FULL NAMES AND COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF PUBLISHER, E	DITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR (7	his item MUST NOT be blank)
PUBLISHER (Name and Complete Mailing Address) Chaplain (Colonel) Thomas R. Smith 1730 K Street, N.W., Suite 401, Washin	ngton, D.C. 20006-3	3868
DITOR (Name and Complete Mailing Address) Chaplain (Major) Granville E. Tyson 1730 K Street, N.W., Suite 401, Washin	ngton, D.C. 20006-2	2868
MANAGING EDITOR (Name and Complete Mailing Address) Chaplain (Major) Granville E. Tyson	ngton, D.C. 20006-3	0060
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owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owne be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name tion is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be	d by a corporation, the names and addr and address, as well as that of each indi	esses of the individual owners must
FULL NAME		ILING ADDRESS
US Army Chaplaincy Services Support Agency	Washington, DC 200	006-3868
KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY H AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES (If there	OLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PE	RCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL
FULL NAME COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS		ILING ADDRESS
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2. Return from News Agents	none	none
G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F1 and 2-should equal net press run shown in A)	6277 AND TITLE OF EDITOR, PUBLISHER	6244
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### Spring 1992: Preaching and Worship

Preaching ideas, strategies, and approaches are offered, as well as articles on worship Sermons from the Gulf War will be included.

### Summer 1992: Minority Issues

We take a look at ministry in the 21st century where pluralism takes an added dimension: non-Judeo Christian religions. ALSO: how we can better minister to the minorities in our military forces.